Libertarian Review

March-April 1976 Vol. V, No. 2

HISTORY/SOCIOLOGY

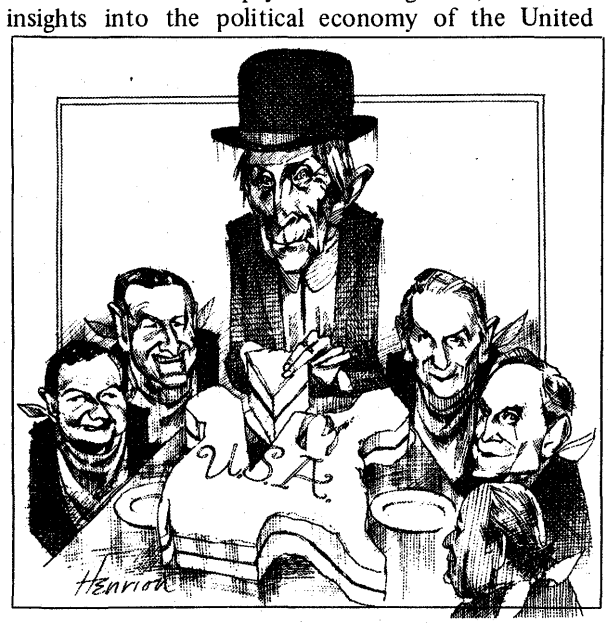
The Rockefeller Syndrome

By Ferdinand Lundberg

For those not familiar with the sordid details of Rockefeller wealth and power from the beginning to the present, *this is* a readable popular account that draws *together* the readily available journalistic, governmental, and academic research on the subject. It is written in the acerbic, witty, adjective-laden, and sometimes repetitive style we have come to expect from social critic and former financial journalist Ferdinand Lundberg, *who is* as ready to pronounce harsh judgment on us–dunderheads, manipulable outcasts, yokelry–as he is on the Rockefellers. Speaking as what he calls a "modified Hobbesian," he castigates equally Marxists (Lenin is called a par noid), Birchers, pseudoconservatives, "nitwit" liberals, and sycophantic professors ("counter-savants"). No one is spared.

But facts on the Rockefellers are there, often illuminated by Lundberg's savvy about corporate control and the realities of political power. There are also amusing psychological judgments probably meant to incite the passions of refined literati and sociological types. Nelson Rockefeller is said to have been driven by sibling rivalry in building the repelling Albany Mall, albeit sibling rivalry expressed in the intimidating and dehumanizing style appropriate to a pretentious corporate centimillionaire. The original John D. Rockefeller's seemingly quixotic mixture of vicious business practices and pious charitable giving is chalked up to an obsessive-complusive character orientation instilled by his moralistic mother, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is psychologized as a fearful and doubt-laden person totally submissive to his mother's Bible-quoting puritanism. All this makes for fun reading, even if we might wonder if grand theory is advanced by locating the Rockefeller "syndrome" in strict toilet training.

In addition to the psychiatric diagnoses, there are insights into the political economy of the United



States. The Rockefellers are seen as financial capitalists who are related by kinship, economics, and politics to other financial capitalists. The penchant of the Rockefellers to collect and utilize people to enhance their own power is emphasized, then demonstrated through analysis of apologetic professional biographies and monopoly capitalist-serving special commissions like Critical Choices and the Rockefeller brothers' panels of the late 1950s. The use of philanthropy as a defense of an unjust economic system is dissected, and the fact that we the people always pay for this seeming charity and benevolence is repeated again and again and again–too often, for on Lundberg's count he underestimates general understanding. Tax dodging by the Rockefellers and other rich also receives proper attention.

However, the book does have some drawbacks. By not waiting to read the final transcripts of the legislative hearing over Nelson's nomination for the vice presidency, Lundberg wrongly states that the Rockefellers did not reveal all their involvements in foundations and real estate, even though he may be right that the value of the real estate was underestimated, especially in the case of Rockefeller Center, modestly claimed to be worth only $98 million. But if the Rockefellers may understate their wealth, Lundberg's tendency is to overstate it.

The account of John D., Jr.'s, involvement in the Ludlow Massacres of 1913-14 in the work camps of Colorado Iron and Fuel also leaves something to be desired because it does not deal with the considerable evidence developed by the United States Commission on Industrial Relations that he had lied about his knowledge of antiunion activity and was in active correspondence with his company's management. He fully concurred in bullying Colorado's "little cowboy governor" into unleashing troops on striking workers. For one thing, he sent a telegram to a company official supporting the plan to refuse the secretary of labor's call for informal talks with the union, saying that the company's policy "meets with our cordial approval, and we shall support them to the end" (James Weinstein, *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State*, pages 195-97).

Lundberg recounts uncritically the study by economist James Knowles of the "Rockefeller Group," a study which claims to distinguish a Rockefeller-based clique within the corporate community. But efforts to replicate this claim have not been successful; for example, the work on corporate interlocks by sociologists John Sonquist and Thomas Koenig, reported in the Spring 1975 *Insurgent Sociologist* suggests

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A Word to Our Readers

• **Publisher's Announcement**: With this issue, *Libertarian Review* adopts an expanded tabloid format. This will allow greater variety, length and quality in our reviews and articles. You will benefit from nearly double the content of *LR*'s former newsletter format.

Libertarian Review fully intends to make its mark as a serious and important review: a periodical of major intellectual importance and the *only* major review explicit in its commitment to the principles of economic and civil liberty.

Libertarian Review is now nearly four years old. Our pages have featured some of the world's most widely respected scholars. Rothbard, Hazlitt, Hospers, MacBride, Ekrich, Eysenck, Tuccille, Sherrill, Morley, Szasz, Branden, LeFevre, Read, Veatch, Armentano, Childs, Greaves, Grinder, Hess, Machan, Martin, Opitz, Smith, and many, many others. Because the new *Libertarian Review* will permit reviewers to treat their subjects at greater length, we will be able to bring to these pages for the first time other scholars and writers of international reputation.

But perhaps of even greater importance, *LR* has provided a publishing outlet for many young writers whose work would otherwise have gone unnoticed. Our new, expanded format will permit us to discover even more capable young writers and bring their work to your attention.

In publishing *LR*, it is our intention to promote the extension of libertarian ideas, both in academic and nonacademic quarters. To help to develop new writers and scholars by providing a market for their work. To stand aside from current political fads, intellectual chicanery of all sorts, and never to lose sight of our final, overarching objective: individual liberty in our time.

The quest for this goal has often been a lonely and costly one for the editors and publishers of this little journal. Expenses have steadily exceeded income since the very first issue. But, with the growing acceptance of libertarian principles, we believe *LR* will in the long run manage to attract sufficient subscribers and advertisers to recapture these invested costs and perhaps—dare we hope?—to put it for the first time in an unaccustomed profitable position.

In the meantime, there are several ways in which you, our readers, can help *LR* in its attempt to influence the direction of today's culture. If you believe our goals are justified and our methods sound, if you are inclined to help in the development of *LR* and, through it, of libertarian ideas, here are a few suggestions to consider:

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—Robert D. Kephart, Publisher

• The publisher of Midge Decter's *Liberal Parents, Radical Children* is Coward, McCann and Geoghegan. The January-February *LR* incorrectly listed G.P. Putnam's Sons as the publisher. Our apologies to all who may have been inconvenienced by this error.

• **New Cassette Tapes** now available from Audio-Forum. Murray N. Rothbard, "The

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Reviewers
IN THIS ISSUE

Susan Love Brown is on the staff of the Campus Studies Institute and is Vice-Chairwoman of the California Libertarian Party. **David Brudnoy** is a syndicated columnist, TV commentator, and freelance. He writes on film and books for various journals. **Marilyn R. Colley** has taught sex education to elementary school children. **James Dines** is a well-known investments adviser and stock market analyst. His most recent book is *The Invisible Crash*. **G. William Domhoff** is Professor of Psychology at the University of California at Santa Cruz. Among his many works are *Who Rules America?, The Higher Circles, Fat Cats and Democrats,* and *The Bohemian Grove and Other Retreats*. **James Lawson**, a descendant of Nathaniel Bacon, presides over Books and Friends (Oakton, Va.), one of the most complete and interesting bookstores in the Washington, D.C., area. **Jeff Riggenbach** is book critic for the Los Angeles all-news radio station KFWB.■

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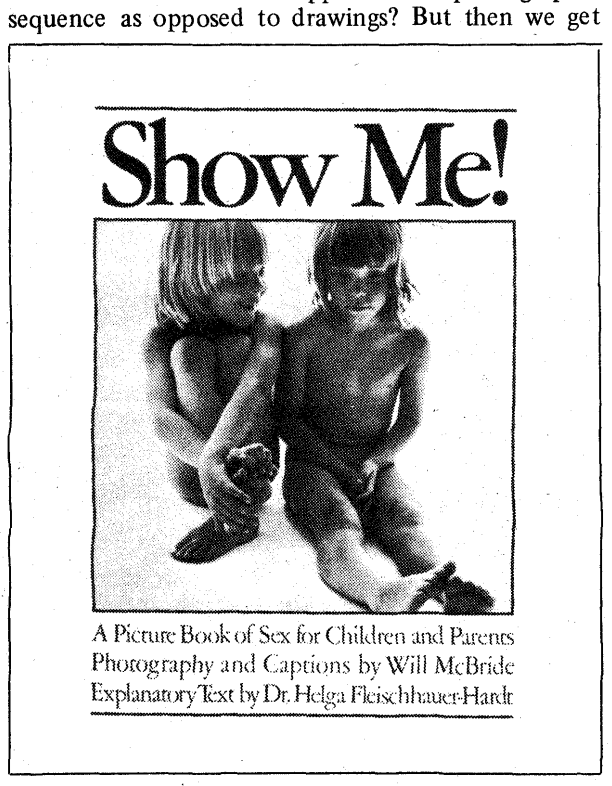
SEX EDUCATION

Show Me!

By Will McBride and Helga Fleischhauer-Hardt

Show me a book on sex education and I'll show you my deep concern for a realistic approach to conveying the joys and pleasure of sex. I hoped that the photographic text of the book *Show Me!* was such an approach. I did not anticipate juvenile pornography, but, rather, open, uninhibited human sexuality. Nor was I expecting premature fear-provoking exposure. When I opened the book I had great expectations, as I question the validity of the collection of illustrative representations now available to the public. I wonder how realistic a perspective a child gets from the drawings, cartoon caricatures, and paper doll adaptations on the market today. Would not the human emotions involved in sex be more apparent in a photographic sequence as opposed to drawings? But then we get


Show Me!
A Picture Book of Sex for Children and Parents
Photography and Captions by Will McBride
Explanatory Text by Dr. Helga Fleischhauer-Hardt

into discourse over how much reality is good for the child. Should we allow for curiosity, anticipation, and fantasy? How much should we show?

This book begins by gently leading the child through the exploration of his body. Two children, no older than five, cuddle and coo over the differences in their bodies. They quickly identify the similarities. They each have a navel located in the same general vicinity of the body. Differences occur when they look down and observe that he has a penis outside of his body and her vagina is inside, out of sight. A question arose in my mind when I recognized a definite lack of verbal explanation of either what penis and vagina are or what their functions are. It is assumed that the inverted bottoms of the children will clearly exemplify the functions. We see how the male "pees" and learn that both male and female "poop" the same. Do the children who have the courage to view this book wonder how a girl "pees"? Please note that thus far we have discovered all the things we as children learned together in our home and community. Later on in the book we are exposed to gigantic penises, erections that can support tee-shirts, and circumcised boys. It occures to me that such photos would evoke fear rather than familiarity.

Amid whining protestations, a newborn baby and mother appear. Mother's role is portrayed in bold letters as a "filling station." Such tender pictures of so natural a life process treated so blatantly makes me question the authors' concern for the child's viewpoint or reaction to what he witnesses. Comparing such a satisfying physical need of mother and child to that of a car at the pumps seems ludicrous.

We leave the newborn baby behind and are confronted with two barely pubescent adolescents discovering each other. More tender pictures are accompanied by a negative conclusion drawn by the five-year-olds. Lovemaking is a lot of fumbling around. Masturbation brings on an orgasm and seems to be more enjoyable than intercourse. Big sister masturbates and has an orgasm while her boy friend masturbates to get an erection and final relief. I question whether the child understands that love-making can also induce an orgasm in the adolescent.

After this discovery, the child is bombarded with gigantic penises entwined in a ganglion of pubic hair. Female caressing and kissing of this bodiless wonder, which is larger than life, leads to incomprehensible pictures of intercourse. If the child is not confused and frightened by this, he will be by the following pages portraying the tortures of pregnancy.

Pregnancy is introduced in a very touching way. On one page a young girl observes the enormous size of the pregnant woman, the next three are of a woman's face in obvious agony. Children have difficulty relating to their mother's attempts to explain the pain, as well as the elation, of the birth process. I realize that this pictorial proof is much more convincing, but does an eight-year-old girl need to be made aware of only the pain she may experience during birth? The concept of birth and pregnancy are difficult enough to explain without instilling fear. How can a mother, in good conscience, expose her daughter to only the heighth of agony with no reference to the nine months of pleasures, discomfort, and hope entailed in the whole process of birth.

The text that follows begins by justifying the contents of the book by intimidating the adult. After all, only the liberal-minded parent can read beyond the first paragraph—according to the authors. I ques-

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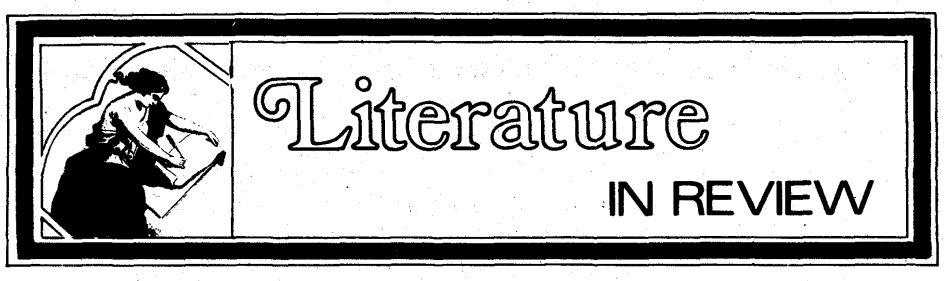

Introduction to Imaginative Literature

By Jeff Riggenbach

PART IV: POETRY

A poem is, as I have said, an essentially static aesthetic object—a work of art that uses words to present an imaginary world (or some portion of one) in terms of places and things, persons and processes, as these elements might be experienced at any isolated moment (or, perhaps, very brief period of a very few moments) of time. One consequence of this view is that there is no essential difference between poetry and prose—that, in fact, to ask after such a difference is to be guilty, properly, of a category mistake. There is narrative verse, like Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner" and narrative prose like Dickens's *Great Expectations*. There is verse poetry like Poe's "The Bells" and prose poetry like Carl Sandburg's "The People, Yes." Verse and prose are different things (though they are different in degree, not in kind), and poetry and fiction are different things (though here again, the difference is sometimes indistinct, as in the dramatic monologues of Robert Browning). But poetry and prose are no more opposed than are (as in the old joke) walking to work and carrying one's lunch.

Another consequence of this view (when, as before, it is placed in the context of the broader theory of imaginative literature sketched in Part I of this series) is that poetry is inescapably individualist in its sympathies. A poem must formulate an abstraction in sensuous terms, terms a poet can know only through his own unique experience. Every poem, thus, is inescapably an individual utterance, a proposition whose every characteristic is symptomatic of the particular awareness which created it. And to the extent we value the proposition, it is a testimonial to the irreplaceable worth of the individual human being. If this were universally understood, every libertarian would be a literary enthusiast—specifically, an enthusiast for the avant-garde tradition (a paradox, not a contradiction) in modern literature (the best and most individualistic art of every era is usually produced by the avant-garde of that era). And every creative artist (for the above analysis applies to all art—not just to poetry) would recognize his essential commitment to freedom. The nature and rationale of that commitment are interestingly argued in two recent books, *Democracy and Poetry* by Robert Penn Warren and *Poetry and Anarchism* by Herbert Read.

Some poets (a few of the many) whose individualities I have found rewarding to contemplate:

William Shakespeare, whose sonnets are not only 154 of the most finished love poems in the language but also a kind of implied narrative, fascinatingly unresolved, in which the poet loses a sensuous "Dark Lady" to a youthful friend with whom he seems also have sustained a love affair. Anthony Burgess has expertly and beautifully made this implied narrative explicit in his novel *Nothing Like the Sun*.

Edgar Allan Poe, whose finest poem is probably "The Bells" and whose self-justifying essays "The Poetic Principle" and "The Rationale of Verse," (*Poems and Essays*) whatever their shortcomings (and they are many) as theoretical statements, suffice admirably to explain their author's poetic practice. Poe was among the first English-language writers to seriously investigate the musical possibilities of language. Others of interest in this tradition are Algernon Charles Swinburne (see his "The Garden of Proserpine" and the Chorus from *Atalanta in Calydon*), and Gertrude Stein and Edith Sitwell (whose work may be experienced in conjunction with music in the former's "Four Saints in Three Acts," with music by Virgil Thomson, available on RCA LM 2756, and in the latter's "Facade," with music by William Walton, available on Angel S36837).

Robert Browning, arguably the greatest poet of the Victorian period, whose dramatic monologues stretch my conception of poetry to its utmost and exemplify its relation to my conception of fiction. In "Karshish," a young Arab physician writes to his teacher of an unsettling interview he has had with one Lazarus, who claims to have died and been resurrected by a no-longer-living Nazarene named Jesus. Karshish reasons that this Jesus was a physician, persecuted as men of science inevitably are, but somehow skilled as few men of science ever even hope to be. So skilled as to seem miraculous, even godlike. And what emerges from this poem for the reader who is willing to penetrate Browning's elaborate syntax, what emerges with an intensity rare even in art, is the blinding moment of symbolic insight into the half-understood and uncontrolled—the moment of the birth of religion. And nearly every one of Browning's monologues is of the same cloth— an astonishingly compact, intensely realized moment of psychological intuition—of insight into character—presented in terms of a few pages' conversation by the character revealed. For me the finest of these, along with "Karshish," are "My Last Duchess," "Caliban Upon Setebos," and "Andrea Del Sarto."

Oscar Wilde's famous remark that "Meredith is a prose Browning and so is Browning," is, as he intended it to be, flattering to both writers. Browning's style, while far from poetic in the usual, more-or-less musical sense of that word, is both expressive and rigorously controlled. And George Meredith was as great a poet as he was a novelist. Read his "The Lark Ascending," which inspired a musical work of comparable beauty, Ralph Vaughan Williams' tone poem of the same name (available on Angel S36469).

Meredith married twice. His first wife, the daughter of Thomas Love Peacock (whose *Nightmare Abbey* remains one of the funniest novels in the language), left him and their infant son for what turned out to be a brief affair. She attempted a reconciliation with Meredith, but he refused her and she committed suicide. His sonnet sequence, "Modern Love," is inspired by these events and is the best work of its kind since Shakespeare.

Poets from the Elizabethan period to the mid-nineteenth century were largely preoccupied with the formal characteristics of verse, with rhyme and meter and with patterns of line, stanza and canto. They composed sonnets, heroic couplets, blank verse—even cryptic and popular forms like acrostics and limericks. They used words to imitate natural sounds (the work of Poe and Swinburne, aforementioned, and of Sidney Lanier). And they even composed "poetry" whose only intelligibility lay in its form—the nonsense works of Lewis Carroll and Edward Lear. They were word-oriented. Their conception of poetry was bound up (by historical accident) in the forms of verse. Of course, this did not prevent their writing most of the finest poems in the English language (try Thomas Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard," William Wordsworth's "Ode on Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood," Samuel Taylor Coleridge's "Kubla Khan," and, in the later nineteenth century, Matthew Arnold's "Dover Beach" and Ernest Dowson's "Non sum qualis eram bonae sub regno Cynarae"). But toward the middle

> "Every poem...is inescapably an individual utterance"

of the nineteenth century, in the work of writers like Browning and Walt Whitman, emphasis came to be placed on the ordinary subject-matter of the poems, on the images of imaginary reality they afforded. "Rules" of poetic form were followed in desultory fashion or not at all. "Free Verse" was proclaimed, when what had emerged was the prose poem.

Much of the philosophical foundation for this shift to image oriented poetry was codified by the intellectual leaders of the Imagist movement, especially T. E. Hulme, Amy Lowell and Ezra Pound. Hulme had made a more than impressive beginning as an aesthetician and literary critic when he was killed in World War I. His posthumously published *Speculations* includes magnificently suggestive essays on art, sense-of-life and culture, as well as his "Complete Poetical Works"—five short poems written more or less to illustrate his Imagist theories. Amy Lowell's best poems are probably the much-anthologized "Lilacs," and "Patterns," an evocation of the grim, fate-infested moment when a woman learns of the death of her lover. Ezra Pound—what is there to say about Ezra Pound? It is generally known, I think, that he was forcibly incarcerated for a time about a quarter of a century ago for holding the wrong political opinions (his Washington jailers called it "treason" and "mental illness") and that his later poems are unintelligible to all but Pound specialists. But it is perhaps not so generally known that he is the author of one of the very best works of theoretical literary criticism in English, *The ABC of Reading*, and that his earlier poems are among the most evocative and, at times, exquisite, in the language.

Pound's student T.S. Eliot anticipated his master's later abandonment of image-oriented poetry for word-oriented poetry. Outside of Joyce, and perhaps Nabokov, I know of no artistic writer whose work is so dense with allusive, elusive meaning. Among his more immediately accessible (and immediately rewarding)—"The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock" and "Four Preludes."

E. e. cummings, another contemporary poet of rare excellence, has also chosen to work within an essentially word-oriented or neoclassical conception of poetry—though in a radically experimental way and with due attention to imagery. See his *Collected Poems*.

Among the most distinguished of contemporary image-oriented poets are Dylan Thomas, who died in 1953 at the age of 39, of alcohol-related causes, and Mervyn Peake, who died in 1968, at the age of 57, of an incurable brain disease. Thomas' "Fern Hill" is one of the most amazing sensuous experiences it is possible to refine from a series of black marks on a sheet of paper. It is also a warming, chilling evocation of childish joy in living, at the instant it first grasps the inevitability of death. "Do Not Go Gentle Into That Good Night" is a rallying cry and a helpless plea in defiance of death.

If there are literary sins of omission, the failure of any American publisher to bring out an edition of Mervyn Peake's poetry surely qualifies. One would think the contining modest commercial success of his Gormenghast novels (*Titus Groan*, *Gormenghast*, and *Titus Alone*) would suggest a certain reader receptivity to Peake's vision. And "vision" is precisely the right word here—Peake was never able to make a living by writing so he earned his keep as a book illustrator and instructor of life-drawing, and his literary style is visual to an uncommon extent. To read Peake is to learn how much of the world can be visually vivid (even "volcanic," as one reviewer has described his writing) and visually meaningful. The *Selected Poems* available in England from Faber and Faber is a fairly representative collection. A better one, no longer available except in better libraries, is *Glassblowers*.

Libraries is my final topic this month, by way of explanation for the relative scarcity in my text of references to particular books. Except where otherwise indicated, the poems I've discussed are available in hundreds of different collections and anthologies, some in hard covers, some in soft, some available, some unavailable. All of the poems I've discussed (except Peake's and those for which special citations are made) are available in any library and in the poetry sections of most good-size paperback bookstores. Three easily available anthologies which contain among them most of the poems I've mentioned are *The New Oxford Book of English Verse*, *The Oxford Book of American Verse*, and *The Pocket Book of Verse*. *(Next issue Neil McCaffrey returns with "Jazz: The Golden Age." Jeff Riggenbach will be back in July with "So-Called Children's Literature.")* ■

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Lundberg— *(Continued from page 1)*
that the alleged Rockefeller group and other major banks and corporations are part of a larger group. I do not think this group should be called a Rockefeller Group, for it leads to overemphasis of the Rockefellers as a family and the resultant, unfortunate loss of a class and institutional perspective on the nature of power in corporate America. Indeed, it was risky for Knowles to call his group by the name Rockefeller in the first place. Graces, duPonts, Millikens, Milbanks, J. Irwin Miller, and others named as part of it are powers in their own right, not dependent upon the Rockefellers nor entirely in agreement with them on all matters (Millikens and duPonts are much more conservative, J. Irwin Miller much more moderate).

Rockefeller involvement in the alleged population crisis also deserves fuller treatment. Instead of considering the evidence that the problem concerns what is produced and how it is distributed, Lundberg seems to accept the idea that there is an overpopulation problem, which is the Rockefeller-financed theory propounded by the various organizations of the population establishment.

> "The penchant of the Rockefellers to collect and utilize people to enhance their own power is emphasized, then demonstrated...."

Perhaps he even falters from his usual critical stance toward Rockefeller philanthropies when he does not note that Rockefeller-financed research on tropical and other diseases, which he in part blames for the population "explosion," was hardly disinterested, but consonant with the needs of oil interests that wanted to explore for pertroleum in every nook and cranny of the colonized world. Here Lundberg would have done better to take seriously the well-documented case that the problem is imperialism, not overpopulation, rather than dismissing it by saying, "Resultant poverty is blamed by the ever-nimble Soviets on capitalism and imperialism."

Lundberg's account of testimony on the family office, Rockefeller Family & Associates, at the Nelson Rockefeller nomination hearing overstates the present-day involvement of this little-known organization in American business. The testimony said that 15 office employees were on the boards of about 40 companies, not 100, as of 1972-73; the larger figure includes all the companies these men and women had been involved with over the past 15 years. In the case of J. Richardson Dilworth, the head of the office, he gradually left his non-Rockefeller assignments after joining the office in 1958. The previous (indeed, a few of the present) connections of Dilworth and other employees, some of which involved their own wealth and personal connections, should not be attributed to the Rockefellers and their family office.

Nor does Lundberg adduce any evidence for the claim that the descendants of John D. Rockefeller still work closely with the descendants of his bother William Rockefeller, who are said to dominate the First National City Bank of New York even though there are no Rockefellers visible in the Citicorp hierarchy at this time. And it may be that the Cousinhood is not as organized and ready to assume leadership roles as was the Nelson-David-John D. III-Laurence-Winthrop Brotherhood. For new evidence on these two open questions we will have to await future original work such as the forthcoming book by former Ramparts editors David Horowitz and Peter Collier, *The Rockefellers: An American Dynasty*.

There also are a few minor errors. Franklin D. Roosevelt was not wary of the Council on Foreign Relations and Wall Street on foreign policy matters, as Lloyd Gardner's *Economic Aspects of New Deal Diplomacy* makes clear. David Rockefeller has not been chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations since 1951; he did not succeed his friend John J. McCloy, one-time chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, until 1970. And David Rockefeller's personal name-file on worldwide leaders does not contain an astounding 20,000 names, but an even more astounding 60,000-plus.

These peccadilloes do not dim the overall indictment that Lundberg presents of financial capitalism. On that count he is solidly based in fact and his own experience. More open to question would be his characterization of "us" as addled and confused and unknowing. Perhaps he is too prone to "blame the victim," as in claiming that unacculturated rural people destroy their urban living quarters in big Eastern cities, a claim William Ryan has shown in his incisive *Blaming the Victim* to be one aspect of liberal ideology ungrounded empirically.

In questioning Lundberg's view of "us," I would not want to deny his larger point that bringing about meaningful social change is no easy task. But just as we need a realistic view of the big capitalists, so too do we need a realistic picture of the underclasses. We are not illiberal or bedazzled, but knowing creatures limited and enervated by the social and political structure. What we need is not general enlightenment but an action strategy that deals not only with the realities of financial and corporate capitalism, but with the structure of the American government, a structure which, as Lundberg reminds us, is so rigged against social change "that something approaching all-out war is often required to get a needed traffic signal installed." **Reviewed by G. William Domhoff / Lyle Stuart, 1975 / $12.50.■**

An Introduction to Austrian Economics

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Institute for Humane Studies
1177 University Drive
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This letter should indicate the applicant's reasons for wishing to attend and the benefits he expects to gain from the seminar. Please enclose an up-to-date résumé and, if still studying for a degree, also include copies of undergraduate and graduate transcripts.

Priority in issuing invitations will be given to graduate students and advanced undergraduates who have had little or no acquaintance with Austrian economics. Only persons who are able to attend for the entire two weeks should apply. If an applicant is not accepted, the Institute will refund the application fee.

The seminar fee is $300, and room and board, $200. Full-cost fellowships covering these costs are available through the Institute or other sponsors. Those residing more than a day's drive from the University may also apply for travel assistance, in case of need. Spouses who are not participants cannot be accommodated on the campus or included in the seminar sessions.

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Personalities

Murray Rothbard on His Semicentennial

By Ralph Raico

Having been asked to write a brief appreciation of Murray Rothbard on the occasion of his fiftieth (!) birthday, I find myself in some embarrassment. In a sense, nothing could be easier, I have known Murray for nearly twenty years–since we met at the NYU seminar of his mentor, the great Ludwig von Mises–so there is certainly enough material for a few hundred words. It is the wealth of the material and the complexity of the subject that are the problem. But I will try to communicate to you something of his scholarly accomplishments, as well as of his character and personality.

Years ago, Murray had already made great contributions to economics. Most formidable of all is *Man, Economy and State*, his economic magnum opus, of which Mises wrote: ". . . an epochal contribution. . . . Henceforth all essential studies. . . will have to take full account of the theories and criticisms expounded by Dr. Rothbard." In Mises' view, the outstanding virtue of the work, distinguishing it from the efforts of nearly all other writers, was its powerful systematization of the whole field of economic action, drawing out the theoretical structure from the basic axioms of the discipline. With *Man, Economy and State*, Mises concluded, "Rothbard joins the ranks of the eminent economists."

> "He is...quite simply the most important intellectual in the world today."

Tackling the field of American economic history, Murray went on to analyze important milestones, such as the Panic of 1819 and the Great Depression (he has books on both). More recently he has devoted himself to a profound study of colonial America (the second of four completed volumes has just been published), and this work has been praised by Arthur Ekirch, the eminent historian. Rounding out his major works–so far–are *Power and Market*, a systematic presentation of individualist anarchism, and *For a New Liberty*, the comprehensive case for libertarianism.

Although he has not contributed directly to revisionist studies regarding the origin and conduct of the wars waged by the American State, Murray has a wide knowledge of the field. In fact, he is the main reason that revisionism has become a crucial part of the whole libertarian position. It was Murray's achievement to combine the data and interpretation of revisionism with an updated libertarian analysis of the State, thus to furnish us with a realistic account of twentieth-century history.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that a major virtue of Murray's position–as contrasted even to that of earlier libertarian scholars–has been its bracing realism regarding the nature of politics and the State. In his view, politicians are not the keepers of "the sacred *res publica*"; nor are they well-intentioned men who somehow chance to go wrong consistently and often diabolically (more or less the conservative and liberal views, respectively). Rather, as Murray–more than anyone else–has led us to see, it can be said of the State rulers what Gloucester in Lear says of the gods:

> As flies to wanton boys, are we to the gods;
> They kill us for their sport.

It was because Murray took the conclusions of revisionism quite seriously and meditated on the meaning of war and imperialism that he was able to come upon this deep truth concerning that "earthly god," the State.

The realistic quality of his political anaysis is evident also in the increasing use he is making of the concepts of "class" and "class conflict" (*not* in the wrongheaded and superficial Marxist sense) as explanatory devices in approaching modern history.

Finally, Murray is also largely responsible for the whole analysis of contemporary American politics revolving around the concepts of "Old Right" and "New Right," without which, I think, it would be impossible to make sense of what has happened to the United States politically in the last forty years or to locate the current libertarian movement in its proper context.

(Continued on page 14)

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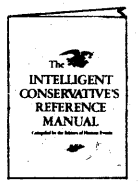

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SCIENCE/BIOGRAPHY

Rosalind Franklin & DNA

By Anne Sayre

The Double Helix

By James D. Watson

In 1962, James D. Watson, Francis Crick, and Maurice Wilkins received the Nobel Prize for their work with DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid), the genetic material on which life as we know it is based. Any person who has taken a modern course in biology has heard of or studied the Watson-Crick model of the DNA molecule. Their names have been immortalized in the annals of science.

But few people have heard of Rosalind Franklin, a physical chemist working as a crystallographer in England during the time when the dramatic search for the secret of DNA was going on. Franklin died in 1958 at the age of thirty-seven. Had she lived, Franklin would have been a strong contender for the Nobel Prize awarded to Watson, Crick, and Wilkins (the prize is not granted posthumously or divided more than three ways). Anne Sayre has made this scientist the subject of her *Rosalind Franklin and DNA*.

In the first chapter of her book Sayre notes:

> The value of her [Franklin's] contribution to the discovery of the structure of DNA is not, I think, disputed by anyone. Owing to a curious set of circumstances, it was probably more significant than she herself realized, and it is partly to make clear how these circumstances arose, and what they resulted in, that this book has been written. The period during which Rosalind was working on DNA was a rather unhappy one in her life, and one during which she had cause to feel the disadvantages of being a woman working in a world where women were—and still are—somewhat unusual.

Before Franklin went to King's College (London) where she did her work with DNA, she had already established her reputation with research into the microstructures of coals and had learned X-ray crystallography in Paris. Franklin was a dedicated scientist who had decided not to marry because of the extreme demands of her work.

> "...these two books should be read together...."

One of Sayre's primary goals in writing her book about Franklin was to set straight some of the facts concerning Franklin's work that she feels were greatly distorted by James D. Watson in his book *The Double Helix*, subtitled *A Personal Account of the Discovery of the Structure of DNA*.

In *The Double Helix*, Watson portrays Franklin (he calls her "Rosy") as something of a shrew. Most of his comments have more to do with Franklin's feminity (or lack of it, as perceived by Watson) than with her scientific work. But Watson was a callow youth—a young man out for glory and fame with science as his vehicle—and in *The Double Helix* he betrays himself and his motivations. Furthermore, he makes many factual errors concerning Rosalind Franklin—accusing her of being "anti-helical" where DNA was concerned, saying that she was Maurice Wilkins' "assistant" when she was on equal footing with him and had her own laboratory.

Franklin was a chemist who had learned crystallography and did painstaking work, never jumping to conclusions for which there was no evidence. Watson, on the other hand, was a biologist who (by his own admission) didn't care too much about learning chemistry, but rather resorted to "model building" as his approach to discovering the structure of DNA. His account of this process is rather like listening to a child describe the construction of a tinker toy.

In all fairness to Watson, he does acknowledge Franklin's contribution in an epilogue to his book:

> . . . we both came to appreciate greatly her personal honesty and generosity, realizing years too late the struggles that the intelligent woman faces to be accepted by a scientific world which often regards women as mere diversions from serious thinking.

Rosalind Franklin and DNA delves into the brief life of a talented scientist and is essential reading for the lay person interested in DNA and its discovery. *The Double Helix* is also recommended because of the insight it gives into how an important scientific discovery took place, as seen through the eyes of one who participated in it.

But even more than this, these two books should be read together so that all may be aware that women do sometimes face situations in which they are not only personally demeaned, but also often deprived of the credit for the work they do. Despite the fact that these accusations are often unattractive in the manner in which they are presented, there is a basis for them. Rosalind Franklin bears witness to that. **Reviewed by Susan Love Brown / *Rosalind Franklin and DNA* / Norton, 1975 / $8.95 / *The Double Helix* / New American Library, 1969 / $1.25** ■

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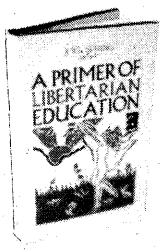

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On View

By David Brudnoy

WOMAN'S FATE

Woman as pawn, woman as object but not subject, woman as receptacle not only of man's organ but of man's force and direction: this is the tradition of world literature and of the "people's" literature, television and film. Woman as manipulator, as Reason or at least Wile, in contrast to man as bumpkin—Blondie and Dagwood—is a newer device, surely a modern conceit despite an occasional Delilah confronting some gullible Samson. Woman as doer, as Ibsen's Nora, stands out in stark relief against a virtually endless backdrop of the more conventional image; it is precisely because the classic literary and cinematic image of woman has been so passive, so perilous (Pauline's particular plight made for a nice alliteration, but her sisters were always depicted in the same position), that those notable exceptions have been so few in number and so memorable.

A new day dawned, feminism mutated into women's lib, and a new cliche has it now that woman is nothing unless she is decisive, is an embarrassment to her gender unless she takes charge, if not of the whole situation then at least of her own fate. What in its ridiculous stab at fashion the first-of-the-year *Time* magazine cover story intended—glorification of Woman by virtue of nauseating praise of a motley crew of activist and generally left-liberal women—the visual media intends as well; on the tube the season of the macho cop duo (black and white, gentile and Jew, whatever) has given way to the season of the independent woman, the (flopped) Fay, the valiant Phyllis, Rhoda and her chutzpah, Mary Tyler Moore (Mary Richards) as storm center of that TV newsroom.

So, too, in the movies: from female as devil's plaything in 1974 (*The Exorcist*) to woman as decisive mistress of her fate (*Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*) in 1975, to the first real hit of the new year (*The Story of Adele H*, new to our shores in late '75 and only now coming to the heartland), the transformation of the cinema image of woman may with some precision be charted, may with some confidence be described as a journey from hesitancy (negative) to decision (positive), may with little reaching for pattern be seen as a valid reflection—film invariably mirrors the image of reality, rather than reality itself—of what is happening in our society. What is happening to our society, vis-a-vis Woman, is the creation of a new myth. Woman as Miss Eppy is dead; Woman as Ella Grasso lives.

Ellen Burstyn, who played the distraught mother in *The Exorcist*, excelled in *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore* as the woman suddenly widowed, burdened with a smart-ass kid, who attempts to stucture a new life for herself and her son by turning to a career that marriage had prevented. She is seen as a whole woman, a good if unconventional mother, aching for sex, a good lay if a mediocre cocktail bar singer. She concludes after much experimentation with jobs and men that she can settle down, be a wife and full-time mother again; but this is for her a conscious decision, not the road to security alone, though it is that, too, but security now with a better man than her scarcely missed dead husband, security arising from her understanding that if need be she could make it on her own. *Alice* was the earliest of the fine movies in 1975, now somewhat forgotten as a host of memorable films opened later in the year, but it is still among the very finest of '75, and appropriate for a year dedicated by that infallible arbiter of global fashion, the United Nations, to Woman, capital W.

The possibly endless saga of Fanny Brice, which began some years ago in *Funny Girl*, entered Act II—there is no guarantee that *Funny Grandma* will not soon burst upon the scene—as *Funny Lady*. The gutsy, pushy, but vulnerable Fanny of *Girl* now became the hard-nosed star with an unerring ability to choose unreliable men as her consorts. Whatever charm Barbra Streisand brought to *Girl*, she left at home for her role in *Lady*. The perfect wedding of movie and star: the coarse, vulgar, arrogant Streisand lent just the right edge to the middle-years Brice. The movie is a monstrosity, but so, at that point in her life, was Brice. Whether an Act III, a *Funny Grandma*, actually materializes, is unimportant; we are left in *Funny Lady* with Brice alone once more, not exactly delirious with joy, but in control. Cynics may grumble that this is a fabrication to suit my theme, but I actually encountered the absolutely fitting feminist reaction to *Lady*: a woman leaving the theatre just ahead of me confided to her companion: "What a stinker [of a movie], but didn't you just love how Fanny learned to do without men?"

John Cassavetes' 1974 masterpiece, *A Woman Under the Influence*, resonated throughout much of the next year. It found its audience late in many towns, and became a kind of totem. Gena Rowland's woman went quite simply mad, or at least, if the concept of "madness" doesn't convince you, as it doesn't quite convince me, she went into her private world, the better to contend with the chaos around her. The ideal subservient wife, unable to savor the alleged wonders of casual infidelity, unable to realize her prescribed role as mom and hausfrau, dissolved, fragmented, freaked. Her return to the bosom of her quite obnoxious family was excrutiating for her, and magnificently delineated by the actors under Cassavetes' loving direction; at the end she has at least secured a toehold in the society she has hitherto failed to accept; she may still be under the influence of forces beyond her total control, but the viewer has reason to believe that she will, eventually if not tomorrow, effect a truce of sorts. This portrait of the woman as a young adept has had and will in future have a powerful influence on the cinema, for between the traditional shrinking violet image and the amazon cartoon will emerge the woman as equal to the task, once thought so natural to her sex, of survival in an oftentimes ridiculous world.

Warren Beatty's George, the stud hairdresser of *Shampoo*, is shown by film's end to be superfluous to the lives of that wide range of women he has balled and flummoxed and diddled and juggled. The vacuous hot-blooded belle of the utterly meretricious *Mandingo* is no Scarlett O'Hara—and Scarlet stands out in our memory because she was so manifestly moulded of a special material—but she inspires all the havoc, all the male grief (butchered slave, slaughtered master), and ideally represents an aspect of the new film sensibility; crudely put, woman is force. True, the young plantation mistress dies in the end, but with no difficulty for the idiotic plot she could as easily have been permitted to survive, while her menfolk (husband, father-in-law, and Negro lover) all expired in technicolor agony.

The cinema has given us whores with hearts of gold (*Sweet Charity*), but in 1975 we received *The Happy Hooker*, who was both. No women's lib heroine, to be sure, yet Xaviera Hollander thrives quite nicely, now, I believe, outside the States, and the asinine movie made of her story left, if nothing else, an indelible memory of the lady, so to speak, on top. Again and again in the last year the woman survives: the girl (identified by no name) in *The Passenger* lives, her lover is offed. The chick in *Aloha Bobby & Rose* carries on, her boyfriend ends in the arms of the law. The con artists are squelched but the heiress makes it through the mayhem to enjoy *The Fortune*. The last, stunning scene of the breath-taking *Nashville*, the penultimate scene of which has shown the queen of the Opry shot dead, gives us a valiant young lass rising to the occasion, belting her guts out in wondrous song. All the sleazes have, presumably, got theirs, but this singer moves suddenly to center stage and triumphs. For a time, the rich-bitch of Lina Wertmuller's *Swept Away By An Unusual Destiny in the Blue Sea of August* has succumbed, owing to the circumstances of their marooned fate, to the sudenly emerged dominance of her previously subservient sailor. But she too turns the tables once more, leaving him high and dry while she reenters her familiar world, one in which she is dominant. *Mahogany*, the soap opera for blacks, depicts of career girl who at last ditches fame and fortune to go home to the "ghetto" to marry Mr. Wonderful. An exception to the pattern? No; she's had her glory, now she chooses to have babies. It is for Mahogany a matter of choice, which is what this is all about.

Even Truffaut's latest, *The Story of*

(Continued on page 15)

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FICTION

Illuminatus!

(Vol. 1: The Eye in the Pyramid; Vol. 2: The Golden Apple; Vol. 3: Leviathan)

By Robert Shea and Robert Anton Wilson

Have you seen that arched *Illuminatus!* over the titles *The Eye in the Pyramid*, *The Golden Apple*, and *Leviathan* by Robert Shea and Robert Anton Wilson? Search them out. They're necessary. The packaging is high kitsch; the words are magnificent.

In a slick style almost worthy of Richard Condon or William Goldman, Shea and Wilson present an episode from our secret history. *Illuminatus!* is a three-volume novel of our culture's parareality, in which numerology, the Tarot, Atlantis, the Cthulhu Mythos, and Mysteries even stranger coexist in a thoroughly surreal mix with the "normal" Universe.

The novel is pop, counter-culture, intellectually fascinating, and "realistic." Its violence is violent; the sex is on scene when interesting; good guys and baddies blunder with equal stupidity; the drugs work correctly; and everything has it price.

In form *Illuminatus!* is a thriller, but there is no trace here of the basic procedural. The A A thwart the Illuminati plot to immanetize the Eschaton, and the central character of Hagbard Celine emerges as a Hero in the class of Joseph Balsamo or Lazarus Long: the manipulator on view.

> "Soon you, too, will see the fnords."

Celine operates his Legion of Dynamic Discord from the submarine (yellow) *Lief Erikson*, with the help of the First Universal Cybernetic Kinetic Uni-Programmer, his *I Ching* throwing super computer. The LDD's ally, the Erisian Liberation Front, has as its major weapon the drug AUM, which creates "constructive gullibility." These discordian groups use hempscript and flaxscript—and burn greenbacks. The Syndicate is of course for hire; and although it is a longtime ally/servant of the Illuminati, Celine buys its services with the loot of Atlantis. We learn the Law of Fives—and are introduced to the five assassins of JFK. Howard the Dolphin wears breathing gear in the underground Sea of Valusia. FDR is chief of Alligator Control in the sewers of New York—smoking pot through his jauntily up-tipped holder.

As characters and actions fade in and out of view, *Illuminatus!* proceeds along its merry way toward Operation Mindfuck. Shea and Wilson switch scene and narrator without notice, sometimes in mid-paragraph. This multiple-narration (occasionally stream of consciousness) presentation is perfect; carried off masterfully, it permits Shea and Wilson to reveal details while concealing causality. The result is a chiaroscuro complex of plot and character that enthralls. The most outre events are lent credibility through contrast with the more ordinary. Any conventional narrative approach would have failed. The labyrinthine permutations of cause and effect are worthy of A.E. Van Vogt. The reader plays catch-up throughout. Shea and Wilson are guaranteed three steps ahead setting up the next revelation.

As an exercise in creative mythology, *Illuminatus!* succeeds on all levels. Shea and Wilson bring suspension of disbelief so easily. They have been so very meticulous. They don't slip up. Facts from the real world fit nicely together with an outrageous parareality. All the details are in place. Surely the reason for the Pentagon is to contain Yog Sothoth the Eater of Souls. Isn't that the type of use to make of our myths? The presentation is omniscient—strictly past tense. In 1999 Hagbard Celine & Co. "finally blasted off for the stars."

Publisher Dell labels *Illuminatus!* science fiction. I suppose it fits. Libertarian surrealism is more apt: "Individuality is ignored when identity is asserted." "Where equality and fraternity rule, there is no liberty." And more. . . "This book, being part of the only serious conspiracy it describes—that is part of Operation Mindfuck—has programmed the reader in ways that he or she will not understand for months or perhaps years."

Illuminatus! is a masterpiece of black humor with a serious core of libertarian/anarcho-capitalist idealism—the "programming" of Operation Mindfuck. Must reading for the concerned paranoid and a treat for the reader-escapist, *Illuminatus!* will amuse even the most academic libertarian.

Soon you, too, will see the fnords. **Reviewed by James Lawson / Dell, 1975 / 3 volumes, $1.50 each** ■

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The Libertarian Party: Cause for Hope or Trojan Horse ?

Three Views: Jim Toole, Samuel Edward Konkin III, and Edward H. Crane III

Reflections on a Convention
By Jim Toole

Jim Toole is State Chairman of the Libertarian Party of Florida.

A funny thing happened to the Libertarian Party on the way to credibility as an alternative to the trend to complete collectivism. Remember the 1972 LP platform? I remember it fondly, for it (along with the magnificent statement of principles) was the primary reason that I joined the LP and worked for the formation of the Florida affiliate in 1973. Remember the references to capitalism, limited government and its legitimate functions, and the concept of the United States as a country strong in its resolve to protect individual rights from domestic criminals and from foreign aggressors?

You will no longer find the word capitalism in official LP literature—it has been replaced since 1974 by the nebulous term "free market," which apparently is preferred because it does not arouse negative emotions and, perhaps, because it is more difficult to define.

The former ideal of limited government has become a "nonconcept" in the 1975 platform. Quite simply, those of us who advocate limited government are no longer in the "mainstream" of the LP as represented by the 1975 platform; our ideal of a government existing only for the protection of individual rights is not given any recognition or standing in the official literature of the Libertarian Party. Perhaps without our realizing it, the black flag of anarchy has been unfurled as the standard for all of us.

The 1975 plank on unionism completely ignores the major problem in labor relations—that of the initiation of force or coercion by unions or companies, usually with the acquiescence of government. The property rights plank contains balm for all libertarians who carry a burden of guilt about their ancestor's treatment of the Indians. But guilt is not inheritable; whatever should be done to bring Indians to full equality of opportunity should not be done at the expense of innocent individuals who own property in what was once almost unpopulated wilderness.

Concerning the Middle East, if there is any need at all for an LP position, it seems to me that it ought to reject intervention with troops while expressing the moral stance that it is in the best interests of mankind that the people of Israel continue to exist and that it is both right and proper for us to support Israel by selling her arms. For the LP to advocate (in essence) "moral neutrality" is to abandon any concern with justice in the affairs of other peoples.

Most libertarians are deeply concerned about the revelations of misdeeds perpetrated by government agencies such as the IRS, CIA, and the FBI. The new LP plank on internal security advocates abolishing all federal secret police agencies, specifically the CIA and the FBI. To advocate both protection of individual rights and abolishment of the FBI is, to some extent, contradictory. In various violations of individual rights such as kidnapping and terrorism the FBI has been the most effective single example of a legitimate function of government. Also, the FBI has a seldom matched history of competence in civil rights cases.

The platform section on justice makes some good points concerning restitution to victims, but leaves unanswered the questions of appropriate punishment for really serious crimes such as murder, rape, kidnapping, et cetera, where restitution would make little sense. One must be grateful that this plank does not elaborate on some of the bizarre ideas about justice that are being espoused currently by some libertarians, both in and outside the LP. There is one convention experience that I'll never forget: I asked one of the candidates a question about justice. "What would be your idea of appropriate justice for, say, Richard Speck (the Chicago mass-murderer)?" The candidate answered, "Exile him." If this is representative of any significant body of libertarian thought, a self-destructive move away from rationality has taken hold in the Libertarian Party.

The most serious difference between the LP that I joined enthusiastically in 1973 and the LP of today is reflected in the attitude toward relations with other governments. Many of the delegates seemed incredibly naive with respect to Russia and China, apparently accepting on faith that these dictatorships will live at peace with the other peoples of the world on other than Communist terms. If history proves anything, it is that Communist states cannot refrain from initiating force against individuals simply because they cannot bear comparison with other even slightly freer societies. They must erect walls, encourage terrorism in other countries, inhibit out-migration, and repress their own peoples to continue to exist. Many LP delegates at New York seemed to lump the United States into the same category with the USSR and China, ignoring the hierarchy of evil in today's world. There are many things we want to change about the U.S., but freedom here could deteriorate at the present rate for decades before reaching the sickening level of repression existing today in collectivist states. Only at the UN (and the LP convention in New York) are these realities blanked out.

Is the Libertarian Party a serious political movement presenting rational alternatives to the collectivist totalitarianism that the future surely holds if the trend is not changed? In 1973 I had no doubt of that; in 1975 I am afraid that the LP has virtually voided its claim to honest consideration by serious people of good will. Many of the people at the convention were no longer interested in presenting alternatives in a principled but persuasive manner. The rhetoric was reminiscent of the intellectual snobbery of the New Left in the late 1960s. As it finds its way into the official objectives and ideals of the LP, I think we will find ourselves speaking to an ever-smaller group of Americans whose views of reality are at best distorted and at worst pathological. We cannot secure our rights by advocating positions acceptable only in the fringe represented by the Manson Family and the SLA.

Where do we go from here? It is my hope that the future will bring attempts to open minds, rather than to close them, while advocating the sound libertarian principles espoused by the 1972 LP platform without regard to either Left or Right.■

Invaders from the State
By Samuel Edward Konkin III

Samuel Edward Konkin III is creator and editor of New Libertarian Weekly. He has been an active member of four political parties—including the LP—in Canada and the United States.

The Libertarian Party is the vehicle of an invasion from the State into the ranks of the libertarian movement. Its defenders, true to the State's need for mysticism and contradiction, cry the LP is the practical strategy for obtaining the free society; failing that, it is another tactic, to be tried and tested with other tactics; failing that, it is an educational tool, to lure converts as a step to hardcore counter-economic activism.

The LP is None of the Above. It is a vicious instrument of the State. For libertarians, it is immoral, impractical, uneconomic, strategically unsound, and praxeologically debilitating.

The foundation of statism is deliberate mysticism, calculated to gain the acquiescence of the oppressed or "the sanction of the victim." In order to obtain this "authority," or legitimization of immoral actions, it creates meaningless forms to bedazzle the masses—big juju! Such was the divine rule of kings, such was nationalism, such were the emperors and czars restoring the dead glory of Rome. Such, too, is the game of democracy. The rule is to withhold violence but jockey for the use of acceptable, legitimized violence. Those who disputed over the reins of power were called, in Hanoverian England, parties to the dispute.

A political party, then, is a collective whose overriding purpose and reason for being is to seize control of the State for plunder and coercion for its cause. (Restraint of short-term plunder—liberalism—is one possibility.) All claims to the contrary are buncombe and cant.

A "Libertarian Party" is a pure contradiction—if *libertarian* means anticoercion and thus anti-State. Those who openly join it proclaim their allegiance to a "secret gang of murderers and thieves"—dropping the secrecy. And so proclaim themselves immoral.

Most North Americans have an inarticulate understanding that politics is a nauseating power grab. Five out of every eight eligible rejected their vote in 1974, preferring not to soil themselves in the game. These people respond positively to an image of libertarianism as a vehicle to a Society Without Politics, and they get confused by and hostile to urgings to register and vote for a position that believes in neither registration nor voting.

Moreover, many voters are browbeaten and intimidated into voting by State-enforced propaganda laying unwarranted guilt trips on the reluctant voter. The same pleas as justify conscription are heard:

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"Duty! Honor! Country! Save Democracy!" An attack upon this cant relieves such people and causes them to look favorably on the movement not requiring such petty self-sacrifice.

The LP turns away the vast majority hungering for a consistent libertarian position. It is thus an exceedingly potent, practical weapon–for the State!

Hundreds of thousands of dollars are wasted by libertarians who donate time and treasure to the bloated coffers of the LP. Not even Nelson Rockefeller could afford the lavish $6.50 per vote squandered by the Tuccille for Governor Campaign of New York's Free Libertarian Party in 1974. And Rockefeller hires *his* campaign workers.

As a shining example of market efficiency, the Libertarian Party is a great argument for bureaucracy.

The last stand of LP defenders is to claim that at least politicians can use the party as a stepping stone outward. But in fact, the LP obtains such people only as they see the party approaching power. The professional Machiavellians do not care to whom their allegiance is due, only who can pay off.

Nearly all the ranks of the LP are made up of idealists unaware of alternative activist opportunities, and the vast majority of new converts would not vote if the LP did not snow them into it. The turnover is large (nearly 50 percent a year in New York, for example) and most of the ex-members "Browne-Out," rejecting politics and often more fruitful forms of activism.

Thus the LP either remystifies the statist process or neutralizes the State's opponents. Again, a most winning strategy–for the State.

Recent researches reviewed in *Laissez Faire Review*, *Libertarian Forum*, and *Libertarian Review* have pointed out the psychological necessity of conditioning submissive responses to authority as a prerequisite to power holding sway. The LP teaches the "libertarian" to submit his will to the collective and execute decisions he opposes for the "will of the majority" and the "good of the party." Parliamentary procedure teaches him frustration, wheel-spinning, and abandonment of market-organization. Backroom deals, backstabbing, and power blocs teach him survival–in a State. None of the party activities are calculated to reward initiative, individualism, or risk for profit. And the LP needs a monopoly, for if it is to win–the overriding necessity–it cannot tolerate a split. Thus is collectivism reborn.

And thus, when all is summed, would the State remain triumphant should the party thrive. Already the LP discards its idealists for the Machiavellian hacks in its leadership, in preparation for its role. The Libertarian Party stands five-fold condemned as an invader from the State, a Trojan Horse, a Saruman, a Judas.

Until we free ourselves, we cannot preach the freeing of others without rightfully gaining their mocking laughter.

The Libertarian Party must go–now! ■

The Libertarian Party: A Cause for Hope

By Edward H. Crane III

Edward H. Crane III is National Chairman of the Libertarian Party. He was first elected national chairman in 1974 and was reelected at the LP national convention last summer.

In June of 1972 approximately 90 individuals from thirteen states gathered in Denver, Colorado, for the founding convention of the Libertarian Party. I was privileged to be one of those in attendance at that meeting as well as at the three subsequent national LP conventions in Cleveland, Dallas, and New York. During its four years of existence I have observed first hand the emergence of the Libertarian Party from the obscurity of living room bull sessions into a full-fledged political movement that, I believe, stands poised to reverse the 200-year trend toward statism in America.

The nature of the evolution of the Libertarian Party has surprised me and, I suspect, most libertarians who were aware of that initial meeting in Denver. To begin with, I'm sure few of us anticipated that the LP would by 1976 be organized in each of the 50 states and the District of Columbia, possessing an excellent chance of becoming the third most popular political party in the nation in the presidential election of this year. Perhaps more surprising to many is the fact that the LP has achieved this success without compromising its principles one iota. We have, in fact, become more "hardcore" in espousing the libertarian philosophy as the years have passed.

But the libertarian movement is a wonderfully diverse phenomenon and it was not unexpected that from its formation to the present the Libertarian Party would have its detractors within as well as outside the movement. In my view, the percentage of libertarians who disapprove of or criticize the LP has steadily declined as the party has continued to grow. Increasingly, the criticism comes from liberals and conservatives who are gradually awakening to the realization that we pose a real threat to their precarious status quo. Our concern here, however, is with two members of the movement who (to demonstrate how really diverse we are) choose to criticize the LP from widely divergent points of view.

I shall speak first to Mr. Konkin's subtle disparagements. In a way, I regret that Mr. Konkin makes so many clearly irresponsible statements, because I strongly believe that the nonvoter, antipolitics element of the multi-faceted libertarian movement is important.

We who are working within the LP recognize that the battle for freedom in our time is a battle of ideas. We also recognize that most Americans rarely concern themselves with abstract ideas, with what might even remotely be termed philosophy except during political campaigns. As the state continues its ominous growth it would be absurd for us to ignore what is far and away the most effective means to publicize libertarianism. It would be even more absurd for us to turn down opportunity (when it arrives in the not too distant future) to assume political office and begin dismantling government from within.

And in the sphere of publicizing the libertarian philosophy the LP has been more successful than any libertarian organization in modern history. Mr. Konkin blinds himself to the fact that millions of people have been exposed to libertarianism because of the LP. Each of the thousands of inquiries we receive at national headquarters due to our television, radio, and newspaper coverage is responded to with, in addition to party information, an extensive reading list of a wide range of libertarian authors. Although they continue to grow in number at a rate slower than that of LP members, I'm sure the ranks of the nonvoters and "Browne-Outs" have increased in greater numbers due to the dissemination of this literature than they ever have from the efforts of Mr. Konkin and his ilk.

Mr. Konkin is further confused about the difference between a governmental unit and a voluntary association such as the Libertarian Party. He seems to prefer an atomistic society where everyone can grow their very own counter-economy beans to one in which individuals associate to accomplish goals through a division of labor. The LP coerces no one and accomplishes much precisely because we have pooled our limited resources in order to fight the state.

The naivete expressed in the implied opinion that the tens of thousands of dollars spent by the LP (to gain literally millions of dollars of publicity for the cause of liberty) could have been better spent financing counter-economic businesses is self evident. Lastly, Mr. Konkin's accusation that members of the LP are "immoral" for using the political process to roll back the state is analogous to condemning a surgeon for using a scalpel to remove a tumor.

Of more concern to me are the comments of Mr. Toole, whom I respect and who has done an outstanding job of organizing the Libertarian Party in Florida. I remember that at the first LP convention in Denver anarchists and limited government advocates were so suspicious of each other the first couple of days that they not only hardly spoke to one another, they even sat in different sections of the convention floor. By the end of the convention, however, there had developed a genuine if somewhat grudging spirit of cooperation between the two factions. It was at the 1974 convention in Dallas, when platform debate carried on into the early morning hours, that an implicit understanding between the limited government and anarchists camps was clearly developed.

That understanding, in recognition of the rich heritage libertarianism draws on from both schools of thought, was that the LP platform would not contain planks that were explicitly unacceptable to either side. As a result of this attitude, the 1974 platform was a marked improvement over the 1972 version and, in my view, the 1976 platform is considerably superior to either of the previous two.

Space does not allow me to discuss in detail the virtues of the new LP platform, and I recommend that interested persons send 25 cents to national headquarters to receive a copy and make their own judgments. I will comment briefly, however on some of Mr. Toole's objections. As a limited-government libertarian, I find nothing in the 1976 platform inconsistent with my point of view. Mr. Toole's point about unionism is quite simply in error; the platform recognizes the right of an employer to refuse to bargain collectively, and it calls for the repeal of the National Labor Relations Act. Ditto for his comments on the property rights plank. Nowhere in that plank is there any mention of giving land back to Indians, although to do so in government-run "reservations" would certainly not be unlibertarian.

Mr. Toole's comments concerning the Middle East are not consistent with the noninterventionism inherent in libertarian foreign policy. Quite aside from the legitimacy of Israel's existence in the Middle East (a proposition that is certainly debatable) the point is that it is not government's function to take a "moral stance" with regard to the "best interests of mankind." The last time the U.S. government did that 50,000 Americans lost their lives in Vietnam.

As a last point, I would further argue that the FBI is nothing more nor less than a national police force. The United States needs a national police force like Germany needed the Gestapo. And if the time it took to apprehend Patty Hearst is any indication, then we'd be far better off contracting with private firms to solve kidnappings than dealing with the late Mr. Hoover's bureaucracy.

The Libertarian Party has, in fact, been a surprising, delightful, and smashing success in its brief history. It has become the rallying point through which the divergent elements of the libertarian movement can effectively direct their efforts to create a truly free society. I urge all *LR* readers who have not yet done so to join us during this 200th anniversary of the first libertarian revolution. ■

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Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds

By Charles Mackay

The Crowd

By Gustave LeBon

There is no such thing as a "mass psychologist." Nor is there such a field of study. Yet, one is a different person in a mob; not more of something, like angrier, but in an angry mob, one becomes actually different, as if a different brain within one were at work. People do strange things in crowds, things they would never do alone. In these days of modern, instant communications, even the occasion of President Kennedy's death unified the nation, which then acted according to "crowd principles." It is, therefore, very important that this new field be identified so that its present mysteries can be explored and we can understand ourselves better as we react to the media or other crowd situations.

An obvious example of mass psychology is the ticker tape that is watched by millions of people, and indeed it gives forth classic symptoms such as contagion, rumor, mass fear, panic, and mass masochism. My first book (*How The Average Investor Can Use Technical Analysis for Stock Profits*) trailblazed the idea of applying mass psychological principles to the stock market, and this viewpoint was rewarded when a *Barron's* review described my book as "perhaps one of the few classic stock market texts ever written."

I was severely handicapped in my work by the fact that very few books had been written specifically on mass psychology, despite this age of huge population growth and widespread growth of statist mass philosophies. When I was offered the opportunity to write a review of *Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds* and *The Crowd*–my two absolute favorites on mass psychology–I readily accepted the offer because of the opportunity it gave me to bring to the attention of thinking people the necessity of having these two books in their libraries. Many times over the years I have drawn inspiration from these two works, written by Mackay in 1841 and by Le Bon in 1895.

Turning to Mackay's book, be apprised that it follows the casebook method used in many law schools. It consists of a series of stories, a straight historical description of certain manias in man's history. My attention had been drawn to the book because Bernard M. Baruch had praised it highly and declared that numerous re-readings had saved him millions of dollars. I first read the book in 1961, and it helped me to clearly predict the 1962 market plunge, which in turn led to principles I used successfully in predicting the crashes after 1966 and 1968.

All Mackay does is recount what people actually said and did during mass crazes, such as the Mississippi Scheme, the South Sea Bubble, the Tulip Bulb Mania, and so on. How striking it is that people say pretty much the same things during similar phases of mass cycles! You can listen to what is being said around you and have a clear idea of the point in time within the cycles where you are. Mackay draws no lesson for you, and no preventative is anywhere suggested, but accurate knowledge and popular recognition of mass symptoms should help you to avoid harmful effects. The book generally points out that "men, it has been well said, think in herds; it will be seen that they go mad in herds; while they only recover their senses slowly, and one by one." The book moralizes occasionally, as with: "Men were no longer satisfied with the slow but sure profits of cautious industry. The hope of boundless wealth for the morrow made them heedless and extravagant for today." And: "When the world begins to believe extraordinary things of an individual, there is no telling where its extravagance will stop. People, when once they have taken the start, vie with each other who shall believe most."

Another facet of mass belief is the incredible unanimity of opinion at times. It seems no one will speak out against a delusion: the fable "The Emperor's New Clothes" was aimed at this particular phenomenon. Mackay writes, "The public opinion, timid and enslaved, respected this imperious and, apparently, well authenticated error. Those who saw through the delusion kept their opinion to themselves, knowing how useless it was to declare their disbelief to a people

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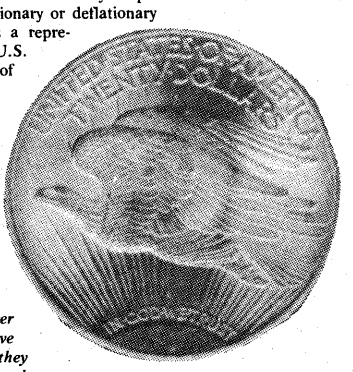

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THE AUTHOR

Ira U. Cobleigh served for 23 years as feature editor of the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*. America's oldest financial journal. Since 1969, he's been associate editor of *The Market Chronicle*. His books and monographs on investing have sold over three million copies. In 1968, he had a national best-seller, *Happiness is a Stock that Doubles in a Year*. Among his other works are *All About Stocks, Gold, the Dollar and You*, and most recently, *The Coming 300% Rise in the Price of Silver*.

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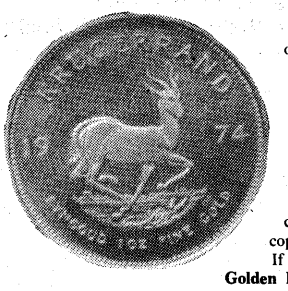

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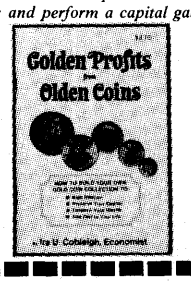

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filled with prejudice and admiration." He describes fashion, "which at times it is possible to move with a wisp, stands firm against a lever."

In sum, reading this book is like listening to a wise old man who has seen much. Although written long before the 1929 stock market crash, one can easily see how that crash fit the pattern. Most important, it is instructive to see just where in the age-old cycle we all stand now. This is a long, but splendid book around which to build a financial library, or to give as a gift. I strongly recommend it to every thoughtful individual. It is a history book all right, but like no other history book I have ever seen, for it specifically zeroes in on the mass delusional aspects. After reading it, you will understand why there are so many tulips in Holland, why the French love gold; you will have conversed with such fascinating topics as the witch mania, the Crusades, the alchemists, fortune telling, the magnetizers, the influence of politics and religion on hair and beard, haunted houses, popular follies of great cities, popular admiration of great thieves, plus duels, ordeals, and relics.

The message for today is that "every age has its peculiar folly; some scheme, project or fantasy into which it plunges, spurred on either by the love of gain, the necessity of excitement, or the mere force of imitation." Approached from this direction, one looks up from the book and wonders what around him will be described as a mass mania 100 years hence. The question is for the reader to answer.

While *Delusions* is a massive book of more than 700 pages, Gustave Le Bon's *The Crowd* comes in at 207 pages. LeBon's brilliant tour de force, which has become an ignored classic, records his explanations of how crowds work. Crowds here exclude structured situations, like a political party or a university, and rarely are specific goals clearly perceived by all the participants. There is never a formal division of labor or authority or established recruiting methods for new members. Mobs are typically impermanent.

A crowd, a mass, and a public all differ. The *crowd* is noted for its physical proximity and some emotional rapport with the regressive tendencies mentioned by Le Bon. A *mass*, on the other hand, is made up of anonymous persons, for example, people who watch television or a ticker tape and react the same way, without any emotional rapport with the others. A *public* consists of a group of people confronted with an issue that is solved within a framework of rules.

There are four phases in crowd formation. A crowd usually starts when an exciting event establishes tension, bringing about conditions conducive to release of emotions normally held in check. The milling stage occurs when people, similarly excited, develop rapport with one another. The emergence of a common objective is next, followed by a crystallization of opinions towards a common goal. People in such a crowd are transformed in a way one would never guess from their individual characteristics or from group norms.

Collective phenomena arise from man's liberation from adaptation; Bahehot, Wallas, Colley, and Dewey are proponents of this school. The contrary view is that mass behavior reflects the irrational and debasing tendencies to which man is subjected when no longer directed by tradition. Proponents of this school are Le Bon, followed after World War I by Willfred Trotter, Everett Dean Martin, and Ortega y Gasset. Le Bon included structured situations in what he called "the crowd mentality," which he deplored. He wrote, "A crowd thinks, feels, and behaves on a much lower level than the customary levels of individuals who compose it. The debasement is the deeper as the crowd increases in size."

Le Bon took a very dim view of crowds: "By the mere fact that he forms part of an organized crowd, a man descends several rungs in the ladder of civilization. Isolated, he may be a cultivated individual; in a crowd, he is a barbarian—that is, a creature acting by instinct. He possesses the spontaneity, the violence, ferocity, and also the enthusiasm and heroism of primitive beings. The crowd may, according to circumstances, be better or worse than the individual. It all depends on the nature of the suggestion to which the crowd is exposed."

There are other books on mass psychology that are not mentioned in this review, excellent ones, and the sociologists have tried to bring some order to this completely disorganized field. Even a man of literature like Oscar Wilde demonstrated that he gave this topic some thought when he asserted, "Man is least himself when he talks in his own person. Give him a mask and he will tell you the truth." Indeed, psychologists know that when a lynch mob is being photographed or when people note their names, the mob quickly disappears.

While some of LeBon's brilliant book is dated, he starts off discussing what he calls "the mind of crowds," including general characteristics, sentiments and morality, ideas, and reasoning power and imagination, before going on to the opinions and beliefs of crowds, including also crowd leaders and their means of persuasion. Le Bon finishes by covering descriptions of different kinds of crowds, such as criminal crowds, criminal juries, electoral crowds, and parliamentary assemblies.

When one thinks of the major events influenced by crowds in just the last decade—including the Gulf of Tonkin, the *Mayaguez* affair, and Watergate—one realizes that this important field has been largely ignored by people in public office.

Here are some quotes from Le Bon's book that speak for themselves:

> A crowd may be guilty of murder, incendiarism, and every kind of crime, but it is also capable of very lofty acts of devotion, sacrifice, and disinterestedness, or acts much loftier indeed than those of which the isolated individual is capable. Appeals to sentiments of glory, honour, and patriotism are particularly likely to influence the individual forming part of a crowd, and often to the extent of obtaining from him the sacrifice of his life. . . .
>
> Personal interest is very rarely a powerful motive force with crowds, while it is almost the exclusive motive of the conduct of the isolated individual. . . .
>
> Bread and spectacular shows consituted for the plebians of ancient Rome the ideal of happiness, and they asked for nothing more. Throughout the successive ages this ideal has scarcely varied. Nothing has a greater effect on the imagination of crowds of every category than theatrical representations. . . .

(Continued on page 14)

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- *Branden,* Nathaniel Branden Discusses Art and Aesthetics/Tape 816 (78 min) $17
- *Breggin,* Raising Free and Happy Children/ Tape 390 (62 min) $10.50
- *Breggin,* Libertarian Foundations for Personal Conduct & Happiness/Tape 267 (71 min) $10.50
- *Breggin,* Psychology & the Free Market/Tape 334 (43 min) $9.95
- *Breggin,* The Politics of Psychosurgery/Tape 192 (53 min) $9.95
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- *Breggin,* Psychiatric Oppression and Personal Liberation/Tape 191 (52 min) $9.95

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McBride/Fleishhauer-Hardt—*(Cont. from page 3)*

tion the authors' inference that a mother should stay at home and devote the totality of her time and energy to her children. There is no reference to the existence of a normal family lifestyle that is compatible with our social structure. One gets the impression that a woman is a subservient nursemaid and concubine. Can the average American female relate to this concept? I doubt it. We are raised in a society that encourages, if not demands, female independence.

I get the impression that the authors want to return to primeval society. I, too, would like to enjoy some of the advantages of primitive social structures where men and women are devoted to each other, the family, and the village. However, since electric light bulbs and washing machines are not synonymous with mud huts, I'll take the twentieth century! The authors should have published the text for hung-up adults and thrown the rest away.

I am left with the feeling that anyone who can show this book to their children does not really need it, because they would expose their children to interpersonal relationships throughout their lives, thus alleviating the need for such a book. Also, how effective would this book be for the household that is very straight and seclusive? A puritanical parent would be hard-pressed to hide his own disgust, thus nullifying the intent to portray sex as a very natural part of life. I ask, would the authors try again?
Reviewed by Marilyn R. Colley / St. Martin's, 1975 / $12.95 ■

Raico—*(Continued from page 6)*

Having produced what is arguably the culmination of the whole classical liberal and libertarian tradition, Murray is a professor at the New York Polytechnic Institute—by no means academic Siberia, but—Princeton it's not. The reasons for this surprising circumstance are that he belongs to the currently minority faction of the economics profession that is Austrian, that he is lacking in Ivy League caution, and that he is—how shall I put it?—fairly *outspoken*. Thus he has not been accorded the kind of recognition that his work would seem to demand. But this happened to the great Mises himself, and ultimately it's no big deal. To counterbalance this, there is the satisfaction of knowing that the Austrian school is increasingly attracting the interest and attention of bright young economists and is clearly on the upswing.

Passing from theory to practice, it is due to Murray more than to anyone else that libertarianism is today not simply a political philosophy but a *movement*. For decades libertariansim has been as vital to him—in the most personal spiritual way—as great systems of political thought have always been to those who have elaborated them and meant to see them prevail. Thus, he has devoted his time and financial resources, as well as his evidentally inexhaustible intellectual energy, to our ideas throughout his adult life. His devotion has shown itself in the seeking out and cultivation of younger scholars; in the publication of his own libertarian journals, *Left and Right* and now *Libertarian Forum*; in his commitment to the burgeoning Libertarian Party; and in his creation with friends and associates of the new Center for Libertarian Studies. These are only the highpoints of a lifetime of promoting our ideas, however. To mention only two other instances, which will have to stand for dozens: his constant encouragement in every way of *New Individualist Review* in the early and middle '60s, and his helping to ingerminate the rather fertile mind of Robert Nozick (for which the latter gives him generous credit in his distinguished book, *Anarchy, State and Utopia*).

Along with his scholarship and activism there is—who could miss it?—a charming and fascinating personality. What is open to the observer even on first acquaintance is a system of traits, habits, and idiosyncrasies so interesting you might have thought it was invented on purpose. A central part of this is certainly his great wit. But with him wit and humor, given or received, are not simply pleasant addenda to living, but a style of life. (This quality of being perpetually challenged by the world's absurdity, and responding with a continuing satiric stance suggests, one speculates, a disillusioned romantic.)

There is also the aspect of Murray the man that one might term a kind of old-fashioned bohemianism, a sort of proud down-at-the-heels-ness, bringing to mind earlier New York Jewish intellectuals such as Frank Chodorov and Paul Goodman. Image meant less than nothing to this sort of man. He was, after all, about more important business. The meaning of life is the struggle for the Good Cause—who has time for nonsense about "image," or worrying about what people will think of you? Such men, of course, are the salt of the earth.

Now, naturally, one cannot agree with everything that Murray writes and says (I, for instance, disagree with him on women's liberation). But that has no effect on what he has done and is.

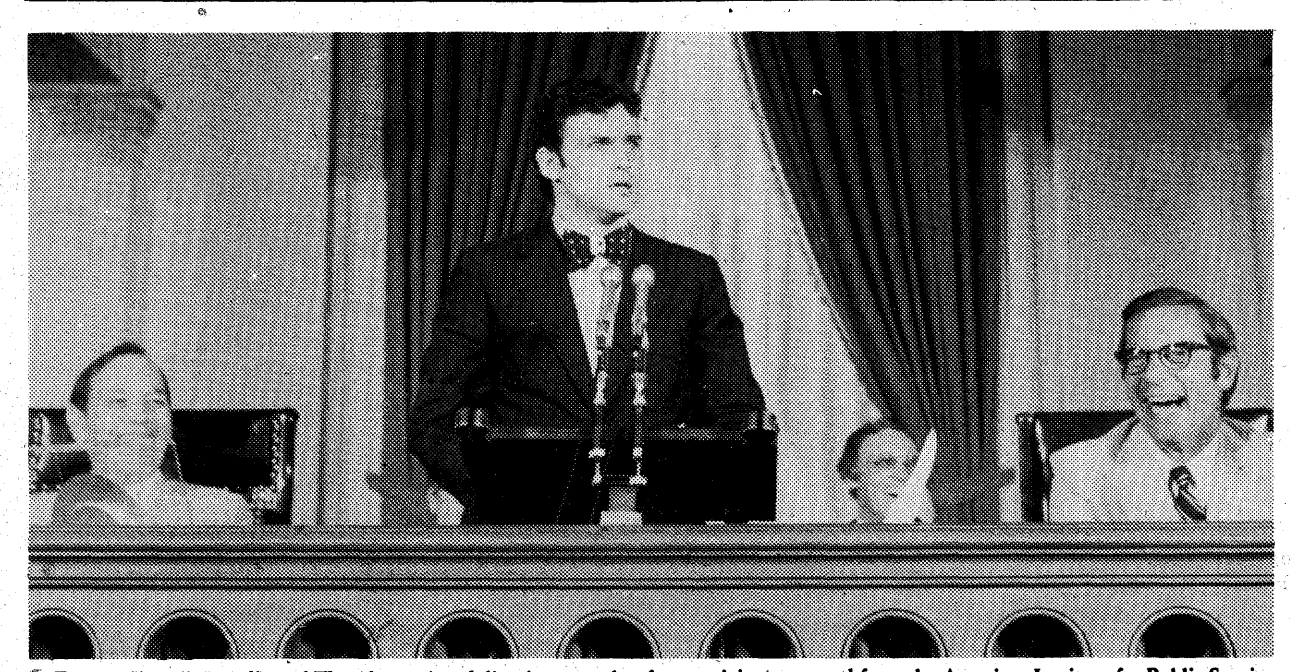
He is a man of great achievement and immense scholarship; an indefatigable worker; a political theorist of a very high order indeed, with a genius for synthesis and discerning the big picture; the most significant living anarchist writer; the most significant name in the whole noble history of individualist anarchism; and, all in all—in my opinion, and in the opinion of a number of others—from the viewpoint of the prospects for human liberty quite simply the most important intellectual in the world today.

Happy birthday, Murray. ■

Mackay/LeBon—*(Continued from page 13)*

> To know the art of impressing the imagination of crowds is to know at the same time the art of governing them. . . .
>
> [Crowds] are the daughters of the past and the mothers of the future, but throughout the slaves of time. . . .
>
> The destinies of peoples are determined by their character and not by their governments. . . .
>
> Crowds are somewhat like the sphinx of ancient fable: it is necessary to arrive at a solution of the problems offered by their psychology or to resign ourselves to being devoured by them.

Reviewed by James Dines / *The Crowd* / Viking, 1960 / $3.50 / *Delusions* / Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1932 / $5.95 ■



R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr, editor of *The Alternative*, delivering remarks after receiving an award from the American Institute for Public Service in the Old Supreme Court Chamber. (Left to right, Sen. Robert A. Taft, Tyrrell, Cong. John H. Buchanan, Hon. William E. Simon.

The Editor of 'The Alternative' Speaks; The Secretary of the Treasury Laughs

For that matter so do the senior Senator from Ohio, Senator Robert A. Taft, Jr., and Alabama's Republican Congressman, John H. Buchanan. No matter how burdensome one's cross might be, Tyrrell makes people laugh. So does *The Alternative*.

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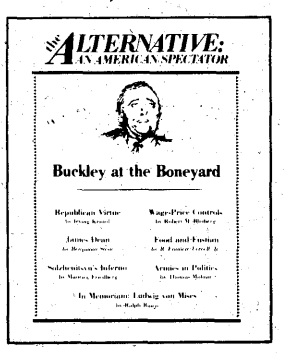

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Word—*(Continued from page 2)*

Case for New York City Default," Tape 236 (31 minutes) $9.95. Arthur Shenfield, "Consumerism: A Reply to Nader and His Raiders," Tape 320 (166minutes) $12.50. Dr. Peter Breggin, "Raising Free and Happy Children," Tape 390 (6 minutes) $10.50. All tapes unconditionally guaranteed. Order from Audio-Forum, 901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, Va. 22314.

• Audio-Forum now has available on cassette tape the 25 November 1975 National Press Club address of Libertarian Party presidential candidate Roger Lea McBride. The tape (Cassette Tape 389) runs 25 minutes and sells for $8.95. It's ideal for LP chapter meetings, discussion groups, and use on the campaign trail. Order yours today from Audio-Forum, 901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314

• When ordering cassette tapes from Audio-Forum, please be sure to make your check or money order payable to Audio-Forum. Also, please send your orders to Audio-Forum, *not LR*. If you send your orders to *LR*, it will only delay delivery of your cassettes.

• Dr. Peter Breggin will conduct a 15-week series of lectures dealing with the application of libertarian principles to everyday living, romantic relationships, child rearing, and related topics, 23 March-29 June. The sessions will begin at 8 PM each Tuesday evening and will be held at the River Road Unitarian Church, 6301 River Rd., Bethesda, Md. Admission to each session is $10. For more information call 652-5580.

• In past issues we have recommended mail-order dealers in used books, including Mrs. P.K. Slocum, 7733 Corey St., Downey, CA 90042, who specializes in libertarian and conservative titles. Three other dealers who are not specialists but who nevertheless publish periodic book lists containing many titles of interest to libertarians are Atlantis Books, PO Box 38202, Hollywood, CA 90038; Editions, Boiceville, NY 12412; and Strand Book Store, 828 Broadway, New York, NY 10003. To this list we wish to add, and with considerable enthusiasm, Dollar Sign Books, 413 N. Alma School Rd., Mesa, AZ 85201, a firm specializing in libertarian-Objectivist titles. We have placed a number of orders with this dealer, and have received prompt and courteous service. All of these dealers will provide you with their latest available listings if you send a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

• *Libertarian Review* readers who enjoy science fiction will want to consider subscribing to the award-winning *Science Fiction Review*, edited and published by Richard E. Geis, with the help of Alter Ego. *SFR* is a quarterly (February, May August, November), and it is chock-full of excellent reviews, interviews with leading science fiction personalities, feature articles, and the wonderfully outrageous opinions, ruminations, and diatribes of the editor, "in one Geis or another." Subscriptions (one year, $4; two years, $7) and sample copies ($1.25 each) are available from *Science Fiction Review*, PO Box 11408, Portland, OR 97211.

• We are pleased to announce that David Brudnoy has joined *Libertarian Review* as our regular movie reviewer. His column, "On View," will be featured in alternate issues of *LR*. (See page 8 of this issue.)

• "An honest man can feel no pleasure in the exercise of power over his fellow men."—Thomas Jefferson

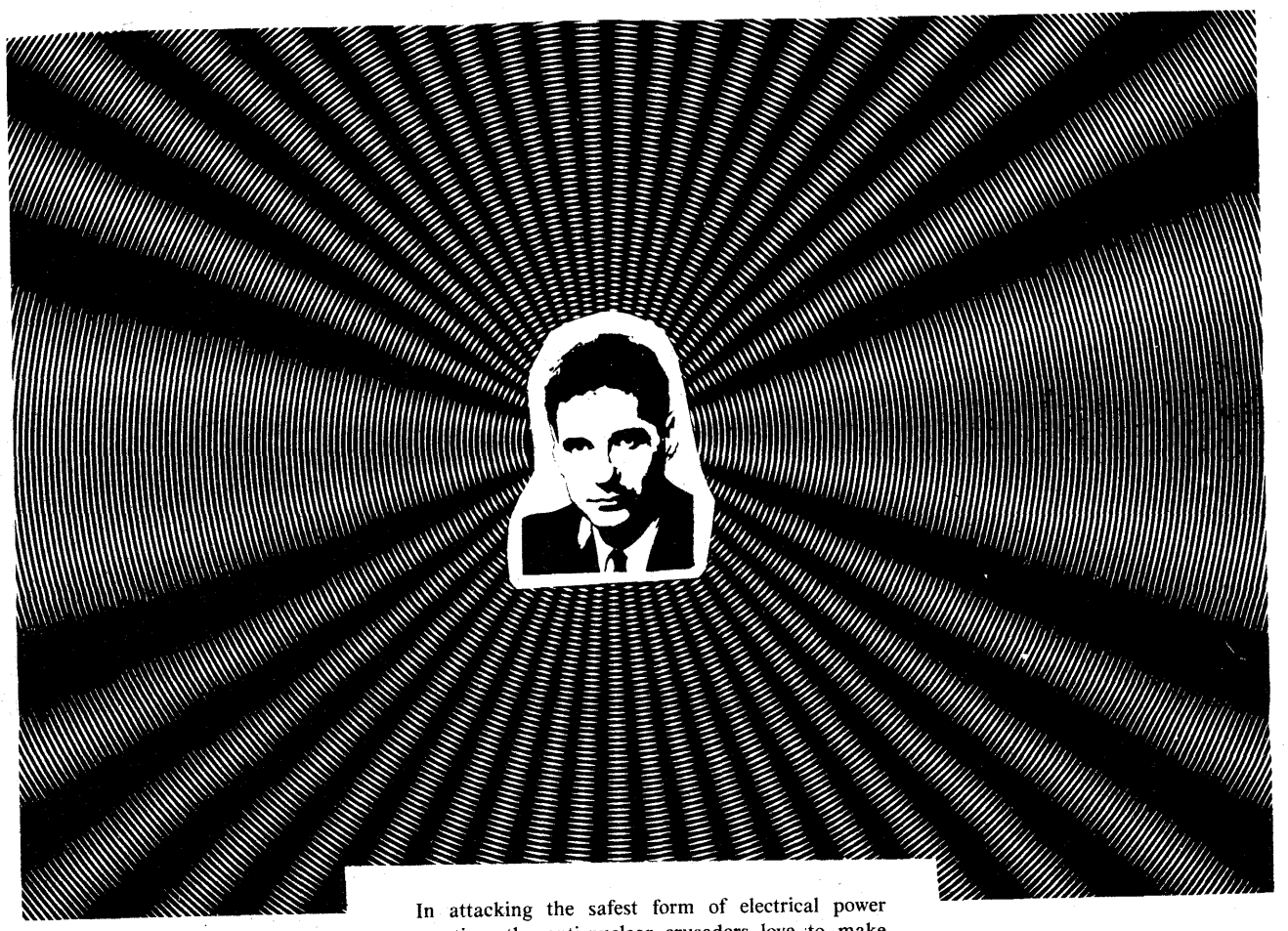
• News of libertarian activities, organizations, publications, academic affairs, et cetera, is wanted for Walter Grinder's "Libertarian Cross-Currents" column. If you have some news for Walter, send it to Walter Grinder, *Libertarian Review*, 901 N. Washington Street, Alexandria, Va. 22314.

• "The most shocking fact about war is that its victims and its instruments are individual human beings, and that these individual beings are condemned by the monstrous conventions of politics to murder or be murdered in quarrels not their own."—Aldous Huxley

• **Things to Come**: Leonard Liggio's Essay Review of *Twilight of Authority* by Robert Nisbet. R. Bretnor on gun control. George Will on Edwin Newman's *Strictly Speaking: Will America Be the Death of English?* Nobel Laureate Linus Pauling on *The Healing Factor: Vitamin C Against Disease* by Irwin Stone. Peter Breggin on *The Death of Psychiatry* by E. Fuller Torrey. Roy Childs on Thomas Coffey's *Long Thirst*. Bill Danks on Arthur and Linda Whimbey's *Intelligence Can Be Taught*. Regina Hugo on Susan K. Langer's *Mind: An Essay on Human Feeling*. Adam V. Reed on the truth about who did what to Europe's Jews before, during, and after World War II. And much, much more. ■

Brudnoy—*(Continued from page 8)*

Adele H, exemplifies the change I have noticed in recent films. Though she is driven to despair, to derangement, by her unrequited love for a callow and callous young soldier, Victor Hugo's daughter—the film is based quite closely on the true story of this unfortunate woman—survives. She doesn't get her man, but she endures, albeit in an asylum. Truffaut stresses, and twice, the message; in a voice-over Adele boasts: That a woman should cross the ocean in pursuit of love, this is a remarkable thing. That's a paraphrase; the exact words excape me. But the film cannot escape me: it is a burning flame of female invincibility. It is validation enough of the Myth of Woman as subject, no longer mere object. ■



In attacking the safest form of electrical power generation, the anti-nuclear crusaders love to make 10-second assertions that it takes half-hour lectures to counter. As often as not, these assertions are false.

But the following assertions are not false:

Ralph Nader is radioactive

The annual dose he gets from his own blood is more than 100 times higher than the average US resident gets from all the nuclear power plants in the country.

The probability of contracting cancer from exposure to Ralph Nader's radioactive body is not zero.

At least one of the radioactive ingredients in Ralph Nader's blood has a halflife of more than one **billion** years and will pose a hazard to countless future generations.

Petr Beckmann
Professor of Electrical Engineering
University of Colorado

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Enter my subscription to *Access to Energy* and send me the full story behind your assertions. My check for $6 (per year) is enclosed. Send to the address (including ZIP code!) below:

I am also (unconnected with the University) editor and publisher of **Access to Energy**, a pro-science, pro-technology, pro-free enterprise monthly newsletter. Unlike Ralph Nader, I dislike telling halftruths, and if you will subscribe to my newsletter for one year (12 issues for $6), I will send you the **whole** truth behind the assertions above.

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Libertarian Cross Currents

• A promising libertarian-oriented organization, the **National Urban and Environmental Association**, was recently formed. This is a multi-disciplinary organization "to oppose the growing number of regulations and restrictions on private property rights and the mushrooming governmental involvement in urban affairs." For information contact Dick Bjornseth, 5915 Fondren, No. 235, Houston, TX 77035.

• One of the most visciously antilibertarian policies of governments everywhere is conscription. On 22 October **Doug Kennell** was apprehended (kidnapped?) by the FBI for alleged violations of the Selective Service Act (what happened to amnesty?). Kennell faces five years in prison and a $5000 fine on each of three counts. He and his counsel are preparing a defense based on the 13th and 14th amendments. Contributions (made payable to Shawn Steel) to cover legal fees should be sent to The 13th Amendment Defense Fund, PO Box 1202, Free Venice, CA 90201.

• The **Society for Individual Liberty** is soon to publish a comprehensive handbook of skills needed, as they see it, by libertarians. They seem to accept a Harry Browne scenario, for most of their skills seem to be of the rustic variety. If you have expertise in *Whole Earth Catalog* skills, get in touch with George Morrone, c/o SIL, PO Box 1147, Warminster, PA 18974.

• For a very good overview article of the New Deal and its real relationship with Big Business, see **James J. Martin**'s "Business and the New Deal," *Reason*, December 1975.

• **Ralph Raico**, a professor of history at SUNY, Buffalo, is the editor of a series of short punchy brochures that serve as position papers for the **Libertarian Party**. Examples: "Libertarianism" by Roy Childs, "Inflation: Its Cause and Cure" by Murray N. Rothbard, and "Civil Liberties" by Ralph Raico. All are available from Libertarian Party National Headquarters, 1516 P Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005.

• A new economic education group has begun operations in the Chicago area. The **Economic Education & Research Forum** is an association of investors, managers, and economists organized for education, communication, and the application of free enterprise analysis to contemporary economics and business decisions. Directors include **Joe Cobb**, **Bob Meier**, **Alexander Paris**, **Richard Suter**, and **Mark Wallace**. The participation fee is $25 per year. Privileges include receiving their "Monthly Bulletin," luncheons, seminars, special mailings, speakers bureau, dinner study groups, et cetera. Inquire: 4075 S. Dearborn St., Suite 660, Chicago, IL 60605.

• There are a number of state Libertarian Party newsletters in circulation. This column will occasionally mention one or two. I will try to get to those that I consider the better ones as space permits. One such competent newsletter is *The Illinois Libertarian*, P O Box 1776, Chicago, IL 60690.

• A Kafkaesque travesty against justice is taking place at **Hillsdale College** (Hillsdale, MI 49242). For years Hillsdale has refused to accept government funds for any purpose. Now, the government has deemed it a "recipient institution" because some of Hillsdale's students receive veterans benefits, et cetera. If this new status is imposed on Hillsdale, it will be subject to federal direction and federal controls under HEW's Title IX. Colleges all around the nation are acquiescing in the federal government's edict. Hillsdale, through its Board of Trustees and President **George C. Roche III**, has decided to stand and fight. This will likely be a long and costly court battle. Your support would be appreciated.

• More evidence marshalled against the clericalism of the psychiatrists, see: **Bruce J. Ennis** and **Thomas R. Litwack**, "Psychiatry and the Presumption of Expertise: Flipping Coins in the Courtroom," *California Law Review*, no. 62 (1974), pp. 693-752. By exhaustively marshalling all the available evidence, this article demolishes the claims of psychiatrists to be of any use in legal proceedings. Some of the authors' conclusions are startling: "The chances of a second psychiatrist agreeing with the diagnosis of a first psychiatrist are barely better than 50-50. . . . psychiatric judgments are not only unreliable with respect to the ultimate diagnosis, but lack consistency even in the perception of the presence, nature and severity *of symptoms* . . . . psychiatric predictions are incredibly inaccurate." (Italics added.) Although about 50,000 persons a year are subjected to "preventive detention" because they are "dangerous," (mostly on the judgment of psychiatrists) "there is literally no evidence that psychiatrists reliably and accurately predict dangerous behavior. To the contrary, such predictions are wrong more often than they are right." In fact, cops can predict "dangerousness" much more accurately than can psychiatrists. This is what **Thomas Szasz** has been telling us for years.

• **Dennis Turner** is collecting information on the efficacy of marketing libertarian ideology. He would like to know which books you find to be the most effective in changing people's minds toward a libertarian viewpoint. He is not interested in the most brilliant or truthful or otherwise impressive. Given that the book is libertarian, does it change the minds of nonlibertarians? Which activities seem most effective—lectures, magazines, books, debates, essay contests, weekend seminars, et cetera. Eventually, if the amount of data collected is sufficiently voluminous and accurate to justify comment, Turner will issue a report, free for the asking. Send information to Dennis Turner, c/o Incomco, One World Trade Center, New York, NY 10048.

• **Kirkpatrick Sale**'s *Power Shift* is a book about which the libertarian must feel ambivalent. It is very important to anyone who is trying to engage in the concepts of "Yankee" and "Cowboy." These concepts refer to the struggle taking place over both political and economic power between the old order or establishment from the East and the new power centers growing up in what Sale calls the Southern Rim, especially Florida, the Southwest, and California. It is also important because it shows how dependent the Cowboys are on the federal government as a capital source and agency of subsidization. His analysis of what he calls the Six Economic Pillars is very good, indeed. This, however, is where the book ceases to be any good and, in fact, turns as sour as a book can get. Sale turns out to be so liberal and so pro-Yankee elitist in terms of culture that one simply feels like getting sick. Examples: Anyone who was against the infamous Land Use Bill is antipeople. An economic-growth mentality is evil. He stoops

AN AFTERWORD FROM Readers, Authors, Reviewers

On Grinding Kristol

In your December 1975 issue, Walter Grinder writes that Irving Kristol "is leading many libertarians down the murky path to a thinly disguised conservatism." Kristol, he says, wants to infuse the idea of liberty with a positive substance, namely the old virtues; this, Grinder thinks, is an attempt to co-opt the libertarian movement and ruin it.

This is a ridiculous charge to level at the most readable and intelligent columnist on America's best newspaper, the *Wall Street Journal*. Inasmuch as Kristol does not advertise himself as a libertarian, I wonder why Grinder gets steamed up when Kristol doesn't pass all the libertarian litmus tests, and why Grinder hints at improbable strategies to wreck our movement.

Like Rand, Grinder quotes conservatives—particualrly the *Journal*—only when they are saying something idiotic. Thus Kristol has argued for censorship of dirty books and against deregulation of transportation. But he has written superb *WSJ* essays on the liberals' "War Against the Cities" (13 March '75), the political and economic roots of the world food shortage (20 Jan. '75), the "New Cold War" with the Third World (17 July '75), and the ideological causes of New York City's financial crisis (10 Dec. '75). His "Nuclear Disturbances" (18 Aug. '75) discusses nuclear foreign policy and nuclear power in a clearheaded, nondogmatic way that many libertarians are incapable of.

Furthermore, Kristol is right when he says liberty needs some positive "substance" to make it meaningful. I hope libertarians will have a more inspiring vision than a suburban ranch house, a camper, and steak twice a week—or social approval, patriotism, and the love of God—but freedom does need a "positive substance," something that requires freedom to accomplish, in order to make freedom worth fighting for. Otherwise, if freedom in itself is our main objective, why not move to the Alaskan wilderness and live off the land?

In any case, let's not pick on Kristol. He fights on our side of the barricades most of the time, and he never swipes our uniforms. And he's a good shot.

BRUCE RAMSEY
Berkeley, Calif.

Letters from readers are welcome. Although only a selection can be published and none can be individually acknowledged, each will receive editorial consideration and may be passed on to reviewers and authors. Letters submitted for publication should be brief, typed, double spaced, and sent to LR, *901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314.*

Grinder Replies

Irving Kristol and friends may not advertise themselves as libertarians, but they are self-proclaimed defenders of western "democratic-capitalism," of the "free enterprise" system, in fact, of western civilization. A number of undiscerning libertarians have interpreted this position as quasi-libertarian. According to this interpretation, Kristol and friends are essentially on our side. We should therefore welcome them and embrace them as our comrades. Some of us who don't have such short memories remember the same being said about Wm. F. Buckely & Co., and even about Richard Milhous Nixon. There was not a scintilla of truth in this line about Buckley and Nixon, and there is only danger in the assertion that we should, even for a moment, crawl into bed with the Kristol clique.

I repeat my earlier assertion that the Irving Kristol, Daniel P. Moynihan, Daniel Bell, Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Commentary*, *Public Interest*, *National Review*, and, yes, even the *Wall Street Journal* comprise the most immediate, most dangerous, and most pressing enemy of libertarianism. This is true both in principle and as a danger to the future of any libertarian movement. They are the first line defense of the American State and of American statism, albeit a proposed more streamlined version. I think that if we are not extremely careful it is indeed likely that this group will, wittingly or not, lead the libertarian movement down the conservative path.

Mr. Ramsey's letter serves to illustrate my point and confirm my suspicions. His contention that Kristol "fights on our side of the barricades" would be preposterously funny if it were not so sad and so indicative of a lack of ideological

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so low as to suggest that most Cowboys are hawks because they love the violence of pro football. This book is the biggest disappointment in years because it could have been such a great book. Former SDS President **Carl Olgesby** has a book coming out soon with a similar theme. Let's hope it proves more mature and helpful.

If by some chance you missed *Newsweek*'s feature-length article, "Big Government" (15 December 1975), then be sure to go back and read it. The establishment *Newsweek* recognizes that Big Government is bloated and is under siege by American citizens. The article reminds us that programs are proliferating and that taxes are up, but that nothing is working.

Some observers are convinced this means that the "reserve fund" has run out, others, that a massive roll-back in government spending and control is imminent. Although I am pursuaded that government spending will assuredly be forced back to less than it might otherwise have been, I find no reason to allow this probability to lead me to grasp sanguinely at the prospect of the imminent decline and fall of statism in America.

On the contrary, the crunch will not likely auger well for liberty. Less spending by government, although certainly laudable in itself, does *not* automatically equal less control by government. Let us not lose sight of just how far statism has come in the United States in this century. These are times during which we must be most careful; for these are times, yes, of retrenchment, but also of reorganization, of streamlining, and, most of all, reconsolidation. It is, then, a time for retrenchment, but this retrenchment will in all likelihood mean a phase of right-wing planning, one which will be in stark contrast to the previous growth and expansionism of more "liberal" interventionism and planning.

Libertarians must fashion their strategy and aim their tactical salvos at the broad spectrum of government intervention, and not be deceived by seemingly rational responses to crumbling circumstances, responses which are, rather, simply hard-nosed reactions the concrete manifestations caused by the increasing tensions of a system of advanced economic interventionism.

• For a shocking eye opener, see **Amnesty International**'s *Report on Torture* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1975, $3.45). You will find here a discussion of the medical and psychological aspects of torture and what few legal remedies exist for its victims, together with a country-by-country survey of the phenomenon. The book was occasioned by the recent great increase in the extent and sophistication of torture as a political weapon by dozens and dozens of governments around the world, including various of the U.S.'s client states. There is a special appendix on the military regime in Chile. Amnesty International is an organization that should be brought to the attention of more libertarians. Its address is 200 West 72nd St., New York, NY 10024.

• The star of **Gerald P. O'Driscoll, Jr.**, the country's leading young Hayekian economist, continues to rise. Last December, on an **American Economics Association** meeting panel devoted to the work of **F.A. Hayek**, which also included presentations from **I.M. Kirzner** and **L.M. Lachman**, O'Driscoll delivered a brilliant paper on the Hayekian paradigm. O'Driscoll will be directing a conference this year on the thought and influence of Adam Smith. The conference, at which speakers will include **James Buchanan, L.S. Moss** and **E.G. West**, will be held at the University of California at Santa Barbara. Jerry reminds us that we should read the following: **Leland Yeager**'s "The Keynesian Division" (*Western Economic Journal*, June 1973), a scholarly dissection of the pretenses and failings of Keynes and his epigones by a first-rate scholar who is generous in his treatment of others; and **R.H. Coase**'s "The Lighthouse in Economics" (*Journal of Law and Economics*, October 1974). Here, Coase deals the *coup de grace* to the users of the "lighthouse example" against the market. In the "worst case" (i.e., lighthouses), he demonstrates that the market works.

• Economic planning, as we all know, has recently forced itself back into the center of political-economic discussion. By far the most important book published recently on the subject is **Otis L. Graham**, Jr.'s, *Toward A Planned Society* (Oxford, 1976). Graham is a Rexford G. (Rex the Red) Tugwell disciple, and therefore his viewpoint leaves a lot to be desired. But, libertarians, this is an important and useful book. From it, you'll gain an excellent understanding of the historical development of twentieth century planning in this country. Of interest also are the following: **Robert L. Heilbronner**'s "The American Plan" (*New York Times Magazine*, 25 January 1976), and the two-part article of **Gar Alperovitz** and **Jeff Faux** in the *New York Times* Op-Ed Section, "Our Future: Centralization or Decentralization?" (6 January 1976). Also see Robert V. Roosa's "Economic Planning: A Middle Way" (*New York Times*, 8 February 1976).

As these writings make clear, the planners are dusting off their old New Deal hopes and plans, while also casting envious glances at the French way, "indicative planning," that is. They are then mixing these all together and serving them up as a platter of "democratic decentralism." Ha! You can be sure that Senators Humphrey and Javits represent only the tip of the iceberg, and that they are not, by any means, the worst we will have to face. Let's just hope that Daniel P. Moynihan does not return to a position of domestic decision-making, for his antilibertarianism is every bit as bad, if not worse, in domestic affairs as are his sabre-rattling methods on the international front.

There will be no excuse if libertarians are not in the forefront of the battle against governmental planning. But in order to win this battle, we must prepare our empirical arsenal as well as sharpen our theoretical armory; we must gather our evidence as well as redirect our Misesian-Hayekian theory to the question before us.

It is good to know that the trial balloons of planning have not gone unnoticed. I understand that there was a successful conference on indicative planning at the **University of Miami's Center for Studies in Law and Economics** (PO Box 248087, Coral Gables, FL 33124) in December 1975, at which the proplanning forces of **Richard Musgrave** and **W.W. Rostow** were effectively countered by a promarket contingent led by **Henry Manne**. Another good counterattack was made by **Murray L. Weidenbaum** in Dallas Last December. This talk has been reprinted along with a sizeable excerpt from **Ludwig von Mises**' "Planning for Freedom" talk, in an ERC Transcript Reprint. Copies can be purchased from ERC Publishing Co., No. 5-1742 Marine Drive West, Vancouver, B.C., Canada ($3 each, $2 ea. for lots of 50-99, and $1 ea. for 100 or more). This would be a useful organizing tool for libertarians to use. As Graham points out in his book, control over resources is crucial to planning and planners. What is more important than land? In October 1975, the **Institute for Humane Studies**, under its Law and Liberty Project, sponsored a conference at the **Law School of the University of San Diego**, "The Conflict Between Land Use Regulation and the Fifth Amendment." Professor **M. Bruce Johnson**, the principal speaker, addressed the "Taking Issue" in his talk, "Planning Without Prices: Police Power and the Taking Issue in Land Use Control." For further information write to Davis R. Keeler, Law and Liberty Project, Institute for Humane Studies, 1177 University Drive, Menlo Park, CA 94025. The best promarket critique of the current spate of planning nonsense is **F.A. von Hayek**'s masterful "The New Confusion About 'Planning'" in the *Morgan Guaranty Survey*, January 1976. (Copies on request from Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, 23 Wall Street, New York, NY 10015.) These all combine to make a good start, but libertarians must do much more in this area.

• The Bicentennial is one of the best ways to promote libertarian ideas. The **Libertarian Bicentennial Center** is an information center and is helping to coordinate libertarian efforts in connection with the Bicentennial. Such efforts on college campuses are especially important. Students and faculty can request that libertarian historians be invited to speak on the American Revolution and surrounding topics. Contact Phil Fellows, 325 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Washington, DC 20003.

• Surprise, Surprise! It has finally come to the attention of the liberal establishment that the state-sponsored, self-regulated medical profession contains in its midst numerous knife-happy and drug-dispensing incompetents. These are the state-licensed healers who, it was alleged, were to protect us from the quacks. Read the scary series of five articles in the *New York Times*, 26 January-30 January. These revelations are not surprising to anyone who has read **Milton Friedman**'s chapter on occupational licensure in *Capitalism and Freedom*. Those of you who have not yet done so should take time to read this masterful chapter. Libertarians should prepare to fight for medical freedom against both the slippery and protectionist American Medical Association and against the tightenting of controls bound to be forthcoming

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awareness on the part of what are likely large numbers of libertarians. It is indeed a sad commentary when our own libertarians can not tell the difference between an actual partisan of liberty and a right-wing Social Democratic planner, between the libertarian vision and a conservative obscurantism.

The self-appointed historical mission of this right-of-center chic clique is to "rationalize" and streamline the four decades of New Deal ad hoc legislation and interventions. It is their self-conscious task to make the system work efficiently, less costly. There will, of course, be no mollycoddling humanism here; for these are the tough-minded, hard-nosed realists come to save us from the bumbling, mushy-headed, bleeding-heart liberals. They, with the help of Milton Friedman's vouchers, indexes, and negative income tax, will put our house in order. All this and they will save us money, too. Obviously, we should all gratefully join forces with them against the irrational, inefficient, and profligate liberals. How very irrational to get so steamed up over merely occasional deviations from plumb-line libertarian principles.

Well, I would like to make it clear that the fire, as it were, has only just been lit under the boiler and that I intend to remain steamed up until the menace of this "military-intellectual complex" (see the *Village Voice*, December 1, 1975) of Kristol, Moynihan *et al.* has been thwarted within the libertarian ranks and has been neutralized within the broader American polity. God forbid that the United States government ever become a model of Chicagoite efficiency. As one libertarian wag once put it, "It's a good thing we don't get as much government as we pay for." Just contemplate the implications of a truly efficient American State, hardly a libertarian vision. Those libertarians who wish for efficiency in government simply have no conception of the truly exploitative nature of government, of the class implications of the State. On the perfidious efficiency-expert role played by Daniel P. Moynihan during the 1969-1972 Nixon regime's planning scheme, I refer the reader to the very informative, useful, and frightening book by Otis L. Graham, Jr., *Toward A Planned Society: From Roosevelt to Nixon* (Oxford, 1976).

You can bet all of your hidden gold coins that Irving Kristol wishes to infuse the idea of liberty with the substance of old virtues—with *very* old virtues, to be sure. He and his crowd like to praise industry, prudence, and thrift, the Protestant Ethic in general; and no one denies their own industriousness. These laudable virtues, though, begin to fade into the background when their really favorite, more cosmic virtues come into view. As Leonard Liggio wrote in these pages recently, these neo-conservative favorite virtues are the traditional ones of democracy, fraternity, authority, and obedience. Hard work, saving, et cetera, are great as long as they take place within the socioeconomic parameters built on these four traditional Social Democratic pillars.

If you are interested to see first hand why I consider Professor Kristol to be the personification of antiliberty, take a look at his "What Is A 'Neo-Conservative'?" in *Newsweek*, January 19, 1976. Here is his and his friends' position unveiled and summed up for all to read and ponder. On the substance of his own admissions, I rest my case: (1) They (the neo-conservatives) are pro-Welfare State, albeit a lean, right-wing version. (2) They will engage in socioeconomic interventions in order to achieve overriding social purposes, as long as the methods are Freidmanesque, i.e., nonbureaucratic. (3) They like to impose traditional values and institutions—religious, familial, and high culture. (4) They dislike egalitarianism. This last is clearly a virtue in the libertarian philosophical matrix. I suspect, however, given the rest of their conservative framework that the neo-conservatives favor antiequalitarianism because of a fear that unkempt upstarts might destroy the social hierarchy and the position achieved within that hierarchy by Kristol and friends. Such social movement might also unloose a concerted attack on their other cherished, antilibertarian values. This is a cynical and perhaps even jaundiced view, but I see no other viable interpretation. (5) On foreign policy they are visciously antiisolationist and fire-eating hawks in their views towards any relations with the Soviet Union. They want the Third World to quit causing

(Continued on page 18)

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Cross Currents— *(Continued from page 17)*

on this issue from the FDA and HEW. The PSRO's are but the first of these controls.

• **Joseph Castrovincci** is one of libertarianism's brightest young historians. He is now finishing up his doctorate at the University of Chicago. Joe has recently completed an impressive and useful bibliographical essay on economic regulation in U.S. history. Currently, he is working on a survey of federal regulation of transportation in America, 1945-65. He has also worked on the movement for workman's compensation, inquiring into why businessmen favored it. Joe recommends that we read **Harold Stearns'** *Liberalism in America* as an excellent critique of liberalism written in the immediate post-World War I period.

• It is nice to see a lively, little undergraduate journal of free-enterprise opinion and analysis coming out of my old alma mater. *The Entrepreneur* (Box 1014, Grove City College, Grove City, PA 16127) is edited by **Minerva Currier** and the advisors are my former mentor, **Hans F. Sennholz**, and **Elizabeth B. Currier** of the **Committee for Monetary Research and Education.** *The Entrepreneur* is supported by tax-deductible, voluntary contributions.

• Two organizations, although ideologically dissimilar, deserve the support of libertarians for their respective and dogged surveillance of Pentagon acitvities. The **National Taxpayers Union,** an organization dedicated to keeping watch over our money now in the grasp of the government, has as one of its most important activities the keeping of a close watch on Pentagon mismanagement and cost overruns. A prominent member of NTU's Executive Committee is the famous Pentagon watchdog **A. Ernest Fitzgerald.** NTU's montly newsletter, *Dollars and Sense* (325 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Washington, DC 20003, $15 per year), is always full of helpful bits of information and analysis. **The Clergy and Laity Concerned** (235 East 49th St., New York, NY 10017) is an organization whose principal libertarian activity has been to lead in the struggle for the attainment of full and unconditional amnesty for the thousands of Vietnam-era draft evaders. The C & LC has recently led a dedicated and unfortunately thus far unsuccessful campaign against the Pentagon's "flying pork-barrel," the B-1 bomber. They need contributions to keep up the good work. Tax-deductible checks should be made payable to the Washington Square United Methodist Church.

• To those wishing to do socioeconomic analysis of power relationships in the U.S., these three works will prove helpful: *The Rockefeller Financial Group* by James C. Knowles (Warner Modular Publications, Inc., 11 Essex St., Andover, MA 01810), *NACLA Research Methodology Guide* (North American Congress on Latin America, PO Box 57, Cathedral Park Station, New York, NY 10025, $1.50), *New Directions in Power Structure Research*, G. William Domhoff, ed. This last is a special issue of *Insurgent Sociologist* (Dept. of Sociology, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403, $3).

• The most informative and most sensible short discussion of the related problems of Israel, the Palestinians, and Zionism was in a letter that was reprinted as an advertisement in the *New York Times*, 23 November 1975. The letter was written to Ambassador Amin Hilmy II of the League of Arab States by Rabbi **Elmer Berger,** the President of **American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism.** I recommend that it be read by all who are interested in the subject.

• This summer, libertarian philosopher **Eric Mack** of Tulane University will undertake what I think will prove to be a most useful project. He will attempt to show the mutual support between the "purpose-independent" legal philosophy of **F.A. Hayek** and the "entitlement" concept of justice found in **Robert Nozick's** work. A foretaste of this work can be found in Mack's letter defending Nozick from the critique of **Josiah Lee Auspitz** in *Commentary,* December 1975.

• The influence on public opinion by the Rockefeller family is one of the twentieth century's most amazing stories. Read about it in **Edward Jay Epstein's** excellent "The Great Rockefeller Power Machine," *New York,* 24 November 1975.

• Another of our brightest young libertarian historians is **William W. Beach,** who is finishing his doctorate at the University of Missouri. Beach has been doing an important historical examination of the origins and development of natural law. He is also doing an intersectoral analysis of the Gulf-Southwest section of the country during the period 1890-1920, in which he is assessing the importance of energy sources (mainly oil and gas) to economic growth. Beach suggests that we read **Grant McConnel's** *Private Property and American Democracy,* an extension of C. Wright Mills' excellent work by one who places greater emphasis on structural changes in government. He also suggests **David Widger's** *Roscoe Pound.*

• **John Hospers** of the University of Southern California will be presenting a series of lectures on libertariansim at the Free University of Guatemala (Universidad Francisco Marraquia) in May.■

Afterword—*(Cont. from page 17)*

trouble for the American imperial political-economic order, to quiet down and fit in with the great American Wilsonian international value system. And as if for icing on the hawkish cake, they are almost all militantly pro-Zionist. Issue after issue, right down the line, the neo-conservatives take the antilibertarian side of the issue. They are, it would seem clear, on the other side of the barricades.

And now to the point of the need for "positive substance" to make liberty meaningful. It should not have to be pointed out that libertarianism is purely and solely a political philosophy. The libertarian position is a negative one: "Thou shalt not physically aggress against another." *That is it.* Simple and to the point. The beauty of it lies in its simplicity. It can easily be understood by all, yet it stands as a mighty and worthy sociopolitical principle.

I, and I assume libertarians in general, find this principle an eminently "inspiring vision" and, if need be, an ideal "worth fighting for." Beyond that universal first principle and inspiring idea, though, I—and I assume most individuals—want to determine for myself what positive values I think will give substance to my life and which ones I wish to pursue. If Mr. Ramsey or others cannot figure out what to do with their liberty and they need others to forge the substance of their values, then I feel somewhat sorry for them but certainly see nothing antilibertarian about their asking others to create their values for them. I would, however, like to underscore this important point: Yes, for me, and I hope for Mr. Ramsey and other libertarians, "freedom is our main objective"; it is our *only* political objective. As libertarians per se, we have in common only this political first principle. If we share a vision, it is that some day all people will be absolutely free.

Allow me here to contrast the philosophical views of libertarianism with those of neo-conservatism. John Stuart Mill put it thus in his *On Liberty:* ". . . the principle requires liberty of tastes and pursuits; of framing the plan of our life to suit our own character; of doing as we like subject to such consequences as may follow; without impediment from our fellow creatures, so long as what we do does not harm them, though they should think our conduct foolish, perverse or wrong. . . . The only freedom which deserves the name is that of pursuing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to obtain it."

On the other hand there is Professor Kristol in the aforementioned *Newsweek* article: "Nor do they [neo-conservatives] put much credence in the notion that individuals can 'create' their own values and then incorporate them into a satisfying 'life style'. Values emerge out of generations and represent the accumulated wisdom of these generations. . . . "

I would ask the reader to mull over in his or her own mind the following presentation of the libertarian vision as seen by Albert Jay Nock. I would ask the reader to contrast it with the neo-conservative view, then finally I would ask the reader to embrace the Mill-Nock position and, once and for all, to reject the noxious notions of the neo-conservative paradigm. The following is from Nock's "On Doing the Right Thing": "Freedom, for example, as they keep insisting undoubtedly means freedom to drink oneself to death. . . . It unquestionably means freedom to go on without any code of morals at all; but it also means freedom to rationalize, construct and adhere to a code of one's own. The anarchist presses the point, invariably overlooked, that freedom to do the one without the correlative freedom to do the other is impossible; and that just here comes in the moral education which legalism and authoritarianism, with their denial of freedom, can never furnish.

. . . Believing, for example, that man should be wholly free to be sober or to be a sot, his [the anarchist's] eye is not caught and exclusively engaged by the spectacle of sots, but instead he points to those who are responsibly sober, sober by a self-imposed standard of conduct, and asserts his conviction that the future belongs to them rather than to the sots."

WALTER E. GRINDER
Brooklyn, N.Y.

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